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RICHARD EDDY D.D., Editor.

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AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

ARTICLE I.

The Underlying Principle of Missions.

I PROPOSE to treat briefly in this essay the subject of missions—no their history but the principle which underlies them and its application. Historically Christianity has been and is a missionary religion. If we ask for the reason for this, it is not far to seek. It is wrapped up in its nature. Christianity is essentially aggressive. It is spiritual. It is a revelation, first, of the spiritual nature and attributes of God, and, secondly, of the spiritual nature and attributes of man. God and man, therefore, are one in their nature. They are bound together by the closest spiritual ties. Nor is the unity an abstract conception, merely,—a matter of speculative curiosity, which concerns men in the great mass; it descends to particulars and shows itself in its regard for individuals. To the most degraded specimen of the race Christ could say "Thy sins are forgiven thee," "rise up and walk." In the same spirit later on St. Peter could declare to the crippled beggar at the temple gate, "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk." The more degraded and miserable a creature is, the stronger is his appeal to the love of Jesus, and the greater is the particularity of Christ's compassion and tenderness.

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At this point Christianity makes its fundamental departure from every other system. It is sometimes affirmed, not without plausibility, that there is nothing original in Christianity, that every teaching which the system contains has been anticipated by sages who went before Christ. But certainly none of the sages of antiquity, none of the founders of religions, had this conception of humanity, either as it exists in the mass, or in those primal units which go to make up the mass. Hence the truly vital conception of the nature of God and of the relations which exist between him and his human offspring, which characterizes Christianity, was wholly impossible to any of the previous religious teachers of mankind. Until Christ came the conditions did not exist for the notion alike of spiritual unity and universality. During the lifetime of the great Teacher the idea scarcely found lodgment even in the minds of the Apostles. The Apostles were Jews with Jewish prepossessions concerning the race limitations of Divine favor and spiritual capacity. It does not appear that in this respect the Jews had any advantage over other races of men. They had been blessed with a nobler teaching and possibly we may affirm that they had a higher spiritual endowment than any other people. But they were none the less hide bound in their prejudices against aliens of every name. In the nature of things it seemed to them impossible that the Gentiles, as such,[1] could hold to God a filial relation.

With the removal of Jesus from physical contact with his disciples, the idea, which was at first nebulous and chaotic in their minds, by more and more profound meditation upon the Master's words and acts, and by a varied experience in making application of Christian truth, began to take definite shape, and in a little while, like the sun struggling with the mists of a summer morning, it burst forth in dazzling splendor and irresistible power. The Apostles then stood in a new light. They awoke to the consciousness of a new life. Their relations were inconceivably multiplied and exalted. The complete environ-

[1] Proselyting was not unknown to the Pharisees. But the proselyte must become a Pharisee.

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ment of the soul was changed. Old things were passed away; all things had become new. That in Christ Jesus the believer was a new creature was a literal fact, far more real and vital than it is possible for us to conceive, because whatever change may be wrought in us by a close and emphatic application of Christian truth, it can only be a change from a passive and negative state of Christian consciousness to one that is active and positive.

It was but natural that the Apostles should compute their work from this new point; that they should recognize their calling as something different from loyalty and personal friendship to their Master, or from the founding of a new sect which should bear his name and derive its inspiration and force from his doctrine. What they appear to have done was to look out upon the world around them. At first their vision was limited to those with whom they came into daily contact. Yet in the beginning their work had a cosmopolitan aspect. That was a motley gathering to which St. Peter preached on the day of Pentecost. It embraced representatives of almost every known race and religion. It seems scarcely conceivable that any such assemblage was ever before addressed by an Israelite. And what is more remarkable, the evidences of the power of Christian truth were just as marked in those who were aliens as in those who were native to the soil and teachings of Palestine. This circumstance was in itself a great marvel, and was distinctly noted as such; yet it does not seem to have made the impression upon the minds of the Apostles which we should expect. There was a manifest tendency to fall back into a Jewish rut, and to restrict the scope of the message which had already produced such powerful effects. But with every such tendency there was a fresh call to recognize the unity of the race. The vision of St. Peter and the preaching to Cornelius constituted a renewal of the declaration of universality.

The conversion of St. Paul, however, was the event of the highest significance in the history of the primitive church. He became at once the representative and teacher to the entire Apostolic band of the idea of universal humanity. This is the

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more remarkable if we remember that up to the time of his conversion he was the most zealous partisan of a sect of whom history has given any account. His attitude was assumed not without struggle. The natural impulse of his heart was for the salvation of Israel. But that three years of waiting and probably of patient meditation and study, in Antioch and Arabia, revealed to him certain facts from which there was no escape.

In the first place, he saw that the religion of Christ was a reality. It was no figment; no factitious affair wrought out with ingenious patience and worldly wisdom; no dream or fancy which had taken form in the airy realms of the imagination; no theory which had been devised to meet a temporary convenience, but a substantive truth based on the facts of the spiritual universe. It was not so much God-given as inherent in the very nature of God and emanating from him as light and heat from the central luminary of the planetary system. But by the same law that it pertained to God it pertained to man as a spiritual being. It was therefore for all men. He might wish it were otherwise; he might seek to evade the logic of fact; he might endeavor to satisfy his conscience by working on the narrower plane to which his affections and his pride of race and traditions called him, but it was in vain. The religion of Christ was all-inclusive. It was universal. It concerned the Gentile no less than the Jew; and he who was to be its messenger must not shrink from making his proclamation absolutely without limitation. Nay, as it was inextricably involved with the nature of man he was under an obligation as imperative as the laws of the universe not only to make a free and open declaration of the truth, but to urge it upon the acceptance of those whose need, through ignorance and defective training, was the greatest.

In the second place, he saw that the religion of Christ was adapted to universal need. Its quality was such that the essential requirements of the soul were met by it. As we have said, it was substantive, ingrained, as it were, in the very nature of man, but it was also practical. It was a law of life and duty. (1). It was a quickener, rousing men from lethargy

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and inaction, and throwing them on new lines of thought and activity. It not only solved problems, but rendered necessary the efforts by which their solution was secured. (2). It was an illuminator. The light was in it and of it. It flooded every subject to which it was applied. Men who looked at it saw that the substance of their life was something different than they had before conceived; and the way of life was as plain as day. (3). It was a comforter, for it revealed the fact that the soul's life was as indestructible as the nature of God. While it convinced man of sin and of the alienation which sin had wrought, it showed that virtue and reconciliation were possible to all through obedience and love. (4). It bound men to God by showing that they had their being in his love, and that they could neither extinguish the infinite mercy nor pass the limits of its influence and sway.

Before such facts, there was no alternative to a soul like St. Paul's. Necessity was laid upon him, woe was unto him if he abated one jot or tittle of the fulness of the truth. His declar. ation of it, moreover, was to be made not merely to his brethren of the household of Israel, whom he loved with all the ardor of patriotism and all the tenderness of personal sympathy and affection, but to aliens and strangers, wherever Roman roads and Roman ships could carry him.

This is very important to be borne in mind in considering the principle which made Christianity so comprehensive in the beginning, which gave it such a world-wide, all-conquering, irresistible might in the face of opposing systems and even of civil and military power. But it is equally important in considering the later movements of Christianity. It would be impossible to give an intelligent interpretation of what are technically called missions apart from a conception of universal humanity, apart from the idea of the spirituality of religion. The history of missions shows this principle, namely: that Christianity is in its nature aggressive, that so long as souls are ignorant, degraded, unreconciled, unregenerate, it must go after them, and must seek them out whatever their habitation may be. It cannot be confined. It overleaps all barriers

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which men may set to its progress. In short, it is a missionary force or it is nothing.

Consider for a moment. What from the time of St. Paul until now has created new centres of religious life?

You may say it has been done out of a missionary enthusiasm, whatever that may be. No doubt it is true. Men often work from an enthusiasm the reason and sources of which they are unable to define. Moreover, there is something in religion which awakens this enthusiasm. It stirs the blood, kindles the imagination, rouses the hopes, exalts the motives of men, and leads to a noble consecration. All this, too, sometimes with reason and sometimes without reason.

You may say, it has been done out of a love of ideas. There is a measure of truth in this. As a thinking being man is fond of great conceptions; and when he grasps them they not unfrequently shake him with the force of an earthquake. He cannot keep them to himself. He proclaims them from the housetop and finds delight in every convert he can make. The instances are numerous in which men have voluntarily assumed great burdens simply to disseminate ideas which have pene. trated and possessed their souls.

You may say it has been done out of a desire to rescue men from a horrible doom. I grant that this motive may have had sway. The impulse which leads us to rescue a child from drowning, to withhold a man on the brink of an awful precipice, to rush into a burning dwelling, in search of a woman or a babe, is a natural impulse. So we would save men from a great spiritual doom, from the danger of tempta. tion and the still greater danger of actual sin.

But I cannot think that any or all of these reasons constitute the ruling motive of missions. The impulse that has carried men over seas, that has moved them to confront the perils of an inhospitable climate and the still greater perils of savage life, is a great and ineradicable affection, an affection which springs out of the conception of the solidarity of the ace, out of the conviction of the brotherhood of man. It should be noted also that the humane affection which leads to

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missionary effort is an affection not only for those members of the race who are like-minded with ourselves, but those who are at the utmost verge and boundary of our human life. Nor is this affection wholly humanitarian. It gets its real energy from the love of God. The fact that God has condescended to man, that he has shown his interest in him, that he has blessed him with his favor and mercy, constitutes a motive which nothing can resist.

In the same way if we consider the principle which through organized agencies has redeemed lands from heathenism in later times we shall find that it is Christianity in its larger spiritual interpretation. I would not undertake to deny that some of the lower motives which I have mentioned above have entered into these movements. Nor would I overlook the presence of other motives equally narrow and unworthy. For example, dogmatism, devotion to a creed, and a determination to force it upon the acceptance of men, willing or unwilling. This purpose makes doctrine paramount, and insists upon putting it into a form as unyielding as iron and as relentless as fate. There can be but little doubt that in the hands of zealous and able devotees of a creed a great deal may be accomplished. And yet mere dogma seems to be a poor rallying cry with which to summon young men to abandon the comforts of a civilized life and take up the hardships and denials of a missionary calling. Then, too, love of sect may not be an ineffective motive. The glory which may come to a particular body of Christians from the work it has accomplished in foreign lands, the satisfaction of extending the dominion over which the banner of a sect may float, will not unfrequently call forth lavish gifts from those who are bent on strengthening the organism of their party, and will even lead zealots into a service of toil and trial.

But I cannot believe that, when the most successful missions are carefully analyzed, it will be found that their real foundations are made of material so unsubstantial and temporary. On the contrary, I am sure it will be found that success in every great mission has been due to making the Christ of

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the Apostles the living centre. In so far as men have deviated from that they have found their labors unsatisfactory and sterile. The mere effort to increase the membership of an organism, or to put into the breast of a pagan an idea which belongs to the realm of Christian thought is unfitted to command the best energies of a true soul. The missionary must be an ambassador of the elder brother, making a tender of his friendship and sympathy to those who need them by reason of their ignorance, degradation and sin, and through that tender seeking to bind them to the heart of God. This is a dignified service, and one that cannot fail to call forth the enthusiasm aud command the loyal and devoted feelings of every man whose life is under the sway of the highest impulses.

This is the need of all the great missionary movements of the present time. Not a few of them need to be reconstructed on the basis of the apostolic idea and practice. Those who are directing them should feel that God has put into their hands Christianity in its largest meaning and most comprehensive power; and that they are to preserve and promulgate it as a living, healing and recreative force. It cannot be that men fulfil their obligations in so grave a matter when they try to urge it forward on the basis of dogma, as a system of divinity, as a scheme or plan, which, however learned and wise, must still partake of our human imperfections. The only way to evangelize and convert the world is, not by dogma, but by fact. In Christianity we have a great body of facts, and we need not seek to go beyond those. The fact which is central and of overwhelming importance is the fact of Christ; Christ too so related to man, and so filled with the living spirit that without the slightest exaggeration it may be affirmed that God is in him reconciling the world unto himself. If the churches of today would work according to the most approved historic models, they must not forget, that what gave to St. Paul such matchless and untiring energy, and what made all the movements which radiated from him well-nigh irresistible, was this fact of Christ, Christ the wisdom of God and the power of God, the express image of the Father's person, in whom dwelt

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all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, the mediator between God and man, the reconciler and healer, the ever living and indestructible, the constant source of life and strength to men, the head of the race, holding the same relation to the great body of humanity that the husband holds to the wife, that the head holds to the other members of the physical organism, the crucified Saviour and also the risen and glorified friend of man, whose intercessions are unceasingly made in our behalf, and by whose effectual ministrations, neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God.

In the realm of ideas this is the grandest idea. It meets every demand of the highest and profoundest thought. No wonder that Sir William Hamilton, who had exhausted the literature of philosophy, should have affirmed that St. Paul's plummet had reached a deeper sounding than any other writer's. Indeed, in whatever direction the mind turns, it cannot get beyond nor add anything to this vast spiritual conception. Moreover, this conception is a missionary conception. If you accept it you are by the very turn of your thought carried into missionary work. The logic is irresistible. At least so far as thought goes it is impossible to avoid this conclusion. It were well therefore, if the churches could be taught to think in this fashion; if they could be induced to exclude from their minds the conviction that the universe has been constructed on a partial plan and that there is constriction and limitation in the methods by which it is regulated and controlled; if they could have at least a glimmer of the vastness of the scheme of things and be made to feel the closeness of the contact and relation of God to all through his son Jesus Christ, we should have an intellectual stimulus to the work which the world has not felt for centuries.

But I do not forget that great missions are not born out of logic alone. However essential logic may be as an initiative and instigator, it is not the mainspring of the impulse which leads men to undertake the hardest and most repulsive tasks

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and even to face martyrdom without a tremor. The attribute of the soul which puts all others into subordination is love. The love of Christ constraineth us. I can do all things through Christ strengthening me. We are more than conquerors through him that loved us. This love, too, must be wholly without limitation. It must not be conditioned on any facts of human experience. It must not be restricted in its operation by ignorance, by unbelief, by character, by habit, nor by actual sin. I am aware that Dr. Webb and Joseph Cook, and many other eminent lights of the church, think otherwise, that they believe and teach that the nerve of missions consists in a love that is constricted, confined and conditioned after the narrowest and meanest of all human conceptions. But I am persuaded that these learned doctors of today have read the New Testament

> "With averted look,
> Spelling it backward like a Hebrew book,"

and from them I appeal without fear of impeachment to the Apostle to the Gentiles, and to those efforts of the primitive church which in three short centuries swept the paganism of the empire almost out of existence, and supplanted the eagles of Rome with the banner of the cross. Unless the greatest historic examples are misleading, unless the key on which the New Testament is strung is wholly false, the motive which bears down all others, which is absolutely irresistible, is love. Men are swept by it as the forest is swept by a tornado. They go forth in the might of it after the alien and the outcast, not because they are in peril, but because they are alien and outcast; not to preserve from a future doom, however terrible, but to lift from present degradation; not to substitute a correct theory for superstition and error, but to make known to men the friendship of Jesus, and to bring them into actual participation with it. They go as the shepherd goes after the stray lamb, that it may not be devoured by an evil beast and that the flock may be complete. They go as the father goes to embrace the returning prodigal that the family circle may be unbroken and that his yearning affection may be satisfied. They

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go as the soldier goes to battle with a song on his lips, ready to die, if only through his death the country may live and posterity be blessed. In all their going they are sustained by the living presence of their Master, from whose lips they hear the words forever: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these ye have done it unto me. Well done, good and faith-faithful servants, enter into the joy of your Lord."

The logic of all this is that the Universalist church should be the most eager to engage in missionary work. That it does not appear to be so, has confounded some men who have accepted the Universalist theory without joining the Universalist organism. To those who have been born and reared within this organization, there may be a satisfactory explanation of the attitude of our church. We may claim that the missionary spirit has never been wanting among us; that in fighting for our very existence, in building our churches and founding our colleges, in causing the light to shine in darkness we have been as truly moved by the missionary impulse as any church in Christendom. We may even claim that our great leaders, Murray and Ballou, were as completely filled with the missionary motive as any who have walked iu the steps of St. Peter and St. Paul. But we cannot much longer repose upon our past. We have laid the foundations of a great church. We have swept the chief obstacles from our path. We have lighted the lamp which now illumines all hearts. But we cannot rest here. Ours is the flag that is to conquer the world. If we are to continue to grasp this sceptre we must go forth and help to gather the nations into the fold of God.

E. H. Capen.

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Article II.

Eternal Punishment and the Restoration of all Things as The Bible Teaches.

PART II.

We have in the previous part quoted several biblical passages, in which the word "Eternal" occurs. It is only by studying the original text, that we can comprehend the true meaning of this word. It would be wrong to translate it "endless" in *all* its combinations.

The expression most commonly used in the original text is in Hebrew holan and in Greek aionios. Holan can be derived from a root meaning "to conceal," referring to a concealed or unknown time or condition. "Aionios," which almost without any exception is everywhere translated in the New Testament "eternal," "everlasting," is derived from the adverb *aei*, meaning always continually, and the partciple *on* or *Ion*, meaning *existing*. The original meaning of "*aionios*" is "*always existing*."

In every-day, common speech the word "eternal" is often used to express a very short or limited time, for example: "it is an eternity since I saw you," or "each moment contained an eternity." Eternal or eternity is used here to signify a limited time. But when used in the New Testament the word *aionios* has a new and higher meaning, which we learn to understand by comparing the different places where this word appears. We will find that oftentimes it means an extraordinary higher condition or *quality* in an immortal being.

John vi. 47: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth hath eternal life." In this Scripture *the true faith in Christ* is equivalent to eternal (æonic) life, which is a spiritual higher life-condition in an immortal soul. Here is then meant something different from a mere endless duration, which *every* human being possesses, in spite of *faith* or *disbelief*. Christ speaks of this heavenly quality, when he says,

[1] Part I was published in the Quarterly for July, 1889.

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John xvii. 3, "And this is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." To know and believe in Christ and in God is to have spiritual organic life with him, it is to partake of Christ and God's pure righteous life of love, it is to possess a new spiritual power in a being who is already "eternal" in the popular meaning, that is, of everlasting duration.

The meaning of *incessant duration* is also enclosed in the word "eternal," when used in connection with God's qualities. In the Lord's prayer we certainly mean that God's power and kingdom and glory will last *forever*. We have thus seen that the word "eternal" as used in the "New Testament has two meanings.

The new eternal life in and through Christ is a part of the plan of salvation, seeking to save the fallen, but even after his fall, immortal soul. This meaning is expressed in Heb. v. 9, eternal salvation; Heb. ix. 14, eternal Spirit; Matt. xxv. 41, eternal fire; Heb. ix. 15, eternal inheritance; Mark iii. 29, eternal sin, etc., which is not "endless" but "extraordinary," without reference to time.

Eternal fire is not a material but a spiritual fire, which springs from God's love and fatherly will with an extraordinary effect to work out our salvation.

Eternal fire is called unquenchable, Matt. iii. 12, in opposition to a material. None but God, to whom nothing is impossible, can extinguish this fire, which He does, when the sinner becomes penitent, John xii. 50. "And I know that his commandment is "life eternal." The object with all God's commandments is, that man may obtain to the highest spiritual quality and life through obedience and love.

What is true about the adjective aionios, is also true of the noun aion. This word means, time, lifetime, period, something limited. It is often used in plural: "aiones, aiones ton aionon" etc., in order to express a very long time, as in the Lord's prayer: for thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory *eis tas aionas* in the eternities. That the apostles did not consider *aion* (sing.) to mean an endless time can be seen in

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2 Peter, iii. 8, one day of the Lord is as a thousand years, *aion*. In Exodus xix. 9, Deu. xxiii. 6, 1 Chron. xv. 2, 1 Sam. i. 22, Jer. ii. 32, are meant only a long limited time. In the New Testament the word is used in timely significance, as in Matt. xxi. 19, Luke xvii. 8, Rom. xii 20. Compare 1 Cor. iii. 18, and 1 Tim. ii, 10. "Eternal" and "Eternity" are thus not always absolute and endless, and least of all, when attributed to punishment, as we will now show.

If we consider first in general the "eternal," æonic punishments, that on account of moral and spiritual laws will befall the unrepenting, so long as they fail to believe in the Redeemer, it necessarily follows from what we have already said, that "eternal punishment" cannot be absolutely endless, in order to accomplish the object of the punishment and bring the sinner to repentance. The mission of punishment is not to torment for the sake of tormenting, but to prepare every sinner to become holy and unpunishable, and make him return to the God, who is holy, fatherly love, to unite him with the organism as a member of the body of Christ, from which his sins have separated him.

Punishment involves also a purely juridical momentum which must not be overlooked, although the pedagogical momentum is higher and more important. The juridical momentum in the punishment satisfies the injured right, comprising a defence for and a restoration of the honor of the insulted, and the majesty of the law. The significance and object of the punishment is different, according to the injured right of the *punisher* and of the law, or to the amelioration of the *punished*. The word "*timoria-Zemia*"[2] is used in the Bible when the *juridical* side is held forth, but not when the amelioration is meant.

It is a very remarkable fact usually overlooked by Bible students that neither of these two words are used when the

[2] *Timoria* from tima-honor, and ouros-protector means "protector of honor," and satisfies the juridical side, as timoria inflicted on the sinner will restore the honor of the injured. *Zemia* denotes the punishment regarding the injury or loss befalling the criminal by the amends made to the punishing.

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highest punishment is spoken of in the New Testament, but often in connection with lower punishments in the Old Testament. In the familiar Matt, xxv. 46, which yet is considered as one of the strongest proofs in favor of everlasting (endless) damnation, these two words, relating to the juridical momentum of punishment, are not used, but some other words relating to the amelioration of the punished sinner, namely "kolasis aionios." "Kolasis" in the entire Greek literature means first, "cutting off a tree," second, discipline, chastisement, which plainly shows the pedagogical significance of this Scripture.[3] The word *Kolasis* being used in Matt. xxv. 46, it is plain, according to the original text, that eternal hope instead of damnation lies in the seemingly hard words of Jesus: "And these shall go away into eternal æonic punishment (chastisement).

Many would say that "eternal punishment" and eternal life as spoken of in Matt. xxv. 46, are used as contrasts to each other. Even so sharp a theologian and commentator as Dr. Meyer has this view.[4] Meyer and his adherent's mistake lies in that they have not considered the true meaning of *aionos* and *kolasis*. As we have already proved, *aionios* means in some places relatively long, thus timely duration, and in other places not time or duration, but a condition, with a higher, more intense meaning of the word to which it belongs, as "eternal," æonic life. "He who believes has æeonic, eternal life." Eternal life in the New Testament does not refer to immortality, but to a life in a holy and blessed condition, not a life of quantity but of quality. This quality of life is only a concealed faith life with Christ. "Our life is concealed with Christ," says Paul. In Matt. xxv. 46, "And these shall go away into eternal (intense) punishment, but the righteous into eternal (intense, pure) life." It is not said here that the life or punishment will be of endless duration, or even how long they will last, but that their condition is of extraordinary, in-

[3] Platon Protag 323 has Kolasis in plural, meaning disciplining reprimands. Also Plat. legg. xi. 932 c. Arist. Rhet. I, 10 where a decided difference is made between "Kolasis" and "timoria."

[4] See Meyer's Commentar über das Newe Testamente Mathews evangel, page 477 (4th edition).

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tense kind. If the Lord had meant a contrast here, the word *death* instead of *punishment* would have been used. An eternal, æonic death is never mentioned in the Bible, and that on good grounds, for "no death, no curse, shall be any more," says the Apocalypse.

"Second death" in God's word was called "eternal death" by the old theologians. But that second death is not endless can be seen in the original text, however terrible it is depictured by John in the Apocalypse. The word for "torment" in this death means "purification in fire." "Night and day," (expression for limited existence) is also used in the description of the Gehenna punishments of the second death, Rev. xx. 10.; xxi. 8, etc. These torments are intense and of an inner and spiritual kind, not a material fire as the old theologians understood it. Jesus says about his own doctrine: "The words I speak are spirit and life." God's word must not be understood literally. The seemingly hardest words in God's or Christ's mouth contain a blessing. The condemnation over the serpent was a blessing to the fallen sinners. The words to Adam: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread," contain the blessing of prayer and work. The words of Christ: "Let the children first be filled; for it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs," contain a blessing at the same time as a test of the woman's faith. Her humility and faith brought her the help she was looking for from Him, who has promised "to draw all to himself." There is hope even when the highest punishment is awaiting the sinner, "*kolasis*": "*punishment to righteousness.*"

The second death is painful at the same time that it is effective for the improvement of the punished. This punishment has been likened to a violent fire, because only through the strongest and most extraordinary means can such a sinner be saved for the kingdom of God, as the finest metals are purified only through the most extraordinary heat. What is more noble and fine in the eyes of God than a human soul, even if soiled by sins and evil-doings? He is saved when he repents of his sins, not because of his penitence, but on account of the atonement

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of Jesus, which embraces the whole universe, "to present yon holy and without blemish and unreprovable before him," Col. i. 17–22. But no salvation can be received without a personal and free conversion.

Those who through the Gehenna punishments have been made better, are like firebrands taken from a fire. They have lost perhaps æons of blessed life while adhering to their evil will, but as it is good for a fruit tree to have the sick branches cut off, so it is best for the Gehenna-punished spirits that their selfish, unholy heart, the evil lusts, shall be destroyed through the power of the purifying fire. This is what Jesus means in Matt. xviii. 8, 9, "it is good for thee to enter into life maimed or halt, rather than having two feet, to be cast into the eternal fire."

According to what we have said in the above, it is clear that absolute, endless punishment is not taught in God's word. Endless punishment is illogical, and is opposed to God's Almighty and loving and holy will towards all his children. By taking a one-sided juridical view of punishment, it may be considered endless. Bliss and unhappiness have many degrees both in quality and quantity. "It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment," Matt. x. 15; xi. 22–24; Luke x. 12, "than for Chorazin and Bethsaida," which had despised the preaching of Jesus.

Objections have been made regarding the limited duration of the Gehenna-punishments, on account of the free will of man. If man's will is free, why is not punishment endless? In reply we say: if we should judge eternity after our life-experience, the problem of the free-will would be insolvable. Then evil would be immortal as well as good. From the prophecy of God's record we learn that evil will not last beyond the second death, after which will follow a new resurrection to a holy life. Otherwise the doctrine of the restoration of all things would be only a beautiful dream. But Christ has taught us that punishment is chastisement to righteousness, an object which will be gained at last, even if after æons. Man's will is created for God, and although sinning through igno-

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rance, he will not forever absolutely oppose God's holy and loving desire for the salvation of all. No endless punishment can therefore be founded upon Matt. xxv. 46, or on any other Scriptures, as we will try to show in the following, and we do not find it necessary to examine all the Scriptures, which through misunderstanding have been explained to teach "endless hell."

Should not our hearts be touched by God's mercy and fatherly love even if in the form of punishment, rather than to have a wrong conception of the God who has revealed himself in Christ? "God wishes no sinner's death," but we must let the fire of God's holy wrath be over us for our unbelief. God's wrath is not described in the Bible as absolute and eternal. God's mercy and love are praised, especially by the psalmist, as absolute and eternal, 2 Chron. v. 13; vii. 3–6; xx. 21; Ps. ciii. 9; Jer. iii. 12. "His anger endureth but a moment," Ps. xxx. 5; Ez. liv. 8, etc. God's holy wrath appears in the form of various sufferings, far more powerful and efficient than any other punishment, when it has proved itself ineffective.

The word "Basanizo," before mentioned, meaning "purify in fire," shows the object of the second death. In comparison, then, with the high and blessed existence, when God will be all in all, *i.e.*, when God's love will penetrate and unite all creation, and when all æons have flown out in the absolute eternity, and "He who makes all things new," has created new heavens and a new earth, in which righteouness dwells,—in comparison with all this endless blessedness we may well call all the Gehenna-punishment only "a moment of his anger," however long it might seem to us, Jer. xxix. 11.

We might have finished this treatise here, after what we have already said. But as there are other Scriptures used to prove endless punishment, we will examine the most important ones. We desire to do so for the sake of those who deny the divine authority of the Bible on account of the contradictions which they find on this question. We do not deny that such are to be found. God's word has always been more or less misapprehended, but Christ says, "blessed is he that shall not be offended in me." Compare I Cor. i. 23.

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Jesus' parable about the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvii. 19–31, is considered by some to be one of the proofs for endless punishment. In this parable the selfishness of the rich Jew is described, and his disappointment not to be God's friend, or not to be lifted up in Abraham's bosom, but to find himself in Hades, or the place of punishment for the unrighteous. But the Hades-punishments have both a juridical and pedagogical significance, which can be seen from the whole parable. The bitter torment in Hades is called a purifying fire (basanos) which in Christ's narration already seems to have effected a change in the rich man's soul. The former pride, which made such a gulf between him and Lazarus when alive, has changed through this purifying fire, so that the rich man no longer treats Lazarus disdainfully, but asks a favor of him. The pride was still there, for only through Abraham does he ask Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water. When his request cannot be gratified on account of the "great gulf fixed between them," caused by the different condition of their hearts, the rich man instead of finding his condition unjust or hopeless, shows sorrow for his five sinful brothers, wishing that they might be saved from the place of torment in Hades. Not even this request can be granted. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded if one rise from the dead." Although the rich man showed a change of mind, there was still a great gulf fixed between him and Lazarus. This gulf was of an inner kind, for it did not prevent the rich man and Abraham from conversing. There was hope for the rich man in Abraham's calling him son, as a loving father speaks to his sick child. The son-relation was not destroyed between Abraham and the rich man in Hades, and the torments in Hades are described as refining flames, "basanoi," the blessing of which shines through the bitterness of the punishment. The object in Christ's parable is to show how terrible and well-deserved the pains are, when the new man is born in Hades, instead of in this life, with its lighter trials. The great gulf separating them is insurmountable only so long as their hearts are separated through sin. The gulf

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will be filled by God, to whom nothing is impossible, even the salvation of souls.

Let us now see if there are any other Scriptures proving eternal punishment. Christ's word in Matt. v. 25, 26, "Agree with thine adversary quickly while thou art with him in the way; lest haply the adversary deliver thee to the judge and the judge deliver thee to the officers and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou have paid the last farthing." What do we learn from this Scripture? First, to show towards our enemy the same degree of patience which our heavenly Father shows us, if we want to be his true children. Next, we learn that if any one dies in such condition of mind, he is cast in the Hades prison until his hardness of heart is melted. Man has a soul, or a free will, reason and conscience, wherever he may be, in Hades or in Heaven. All souls will sometime learn to love Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday and to-day, yea and forever Heb. xiii. 8, and through him will they have the sweetness of heart they did not have in this life. Jesus' words mean no endless punishment. It will last only as long as man's heart is hard and slow to forgive.

Mark ix. 45, "And if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off; it is good for thee to enter into life halt rather than having thy two feet, to be cast into hell." This Scripture is wrongly explained to mean *endless hell.* It is taken from Isa. lxvi. 24, by which it can be explained. Hell is here called Gehenna, which was the Gee-Hinnon or Hinnons-dale, where the dead bodies of criminals and all impurities from the city were burnt in an unceasing fire to purify the air. The least reflection shows us that the Gehenna-fire of the second death must be understood as a spiritual fire, because no physical fire can purify a spirit.

By "the worm that never dies," is meant God's active, holy wrath against the evil conscience of the sinner, a wrath that ceases with the sin. God's holy anger works our salvation to eternal life by killing in us all that is selfish and sinful. "For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be

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salted with salt. Salt is good. . . . Have salt in yourselves and be at peace one with another," Mark ix. 49, 50. Jesus says that every one shall be salted. Fire as well as salt has a purifying quality. If the spiritual salt has not purified us in this life, it must do so after death in Hades or Gehenna (Col. i. 20). "God will through Christ reconcile *all things* unto himself, . . . whether things on the earth or things in the heavens," the whole universe. In Heb. xi. 39, 40, we see that the inhabitants of Hades and earth should not be separated, "that apart from us they should not be made perfect." The organism of humanity is an ethical organism, so that every member has a feeling for the whole, as well as the whole suffers or rejoices with its smallest members.

In Mark xii. 31, 32, "whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in that which is to come." All Bible students agree that a terrible punishment will follow this sin. But is the punishment endless? Christ does not say so. On the contrary. When he says that the sin against the Holy Spirit can not be forgiven in this world or another, it is clear that other sins can be pardoned even in another existence than this, and that the sin against the Holy Spirit cannot be forgiven in this or the next following æon, but will be forgiven in some other æon or existence. "For Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, yea, and forever," Heb. xiii. 8. He will treat all sinners alike now and forever, who need and wish for forgiveness. This is meant in Jesus' words: "Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven," except the sin against the Holy Spirit, which sin must first bear its punishment before the sinner can repent. Only the utmost punishment can prepare a change in such a sinner. In the parallel Scripture, Luke xii. 10, it is spoken of in more general terms, but no endless punishment can be traced even here. In Mark iii. 29, according to the new version, it reads "eternal sin." But from what we have said above, æonios, eternal, in this place as well as in Matt. xxv. 46, means extraordinary in quality but not in quantity.

It is also impossible to find endless hell fire supported in

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Heb. vi. 4–6, or in Heb. x. 26, 27. According to the original text it reads in the former place, "it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance, seeing or while they crucify to themselves the son of God afresh and put him to open shame, those who once have been enlightened and tasted of the heavenly gift and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost and tasted the good word of God and the powers of the age to come, and then fell away." Knowing the original text, it is easy for us to understand that it is impossible for such a sinner to repent *while* the love of sin reigns in his heart. If the sin against the Holy Spirit would be unforgiven during all æons, it would not be true that God's Lamb takes away "the sins of the world," thus even the sin against the Holy Spirit, when the sinner repents, either in this existence or another. The apparent harshness in Heb. vi. 4–6 is softened considerably in the following verses, where the writer speaks of the burning of thorns and thistles, in order to make the land fruitbearing again.

In Heb. x, 26, 27, "For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more a sacrifice for sins but a certain expectation of judgment and a fierceness of fire, which shall devour the adversaries." This Scripture is also considered to prove endless punishment. It says that we can not enjoy a sacrifice if we wilfully sin after having had the knowledge of truth. The fire will devour the adversaries, "the members of the old man," as the apostle calls them in Col. iii. 5, 6, "but he himself shall be saved yet so as through fire," 1 Cor. iii. 13–15, when he learns to lean upon "the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world." The punishment of fire is often spoken of in the Bible by different names, as "God's wrath," the "eternal (æonic) fire," "an unquenchable fire," "the Gehenna," "the lake of fire and brimstone," "the second death." They are all expressions taken from our daily experience, having an inner and spiritual meaning.

Mark xiv. 21, "Woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! Good were it for that man if he had never

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been born." If no light from other Scriptures could be thrown over this, there would be little hope for the poor traitor. If we consider even this Scripture a little closer we find there is no ground for endless punishment, however terrible Judas' sin is. This is a sin against the Holy Spirit. But if we should compare his sin with that of the chief priests, we would find that Judas repented "having betrayed innocent blood." What do Jesus, words to Judas mean? First, they pronounce the terrible punishment for the traitor's sin. Next, Christ says it would have been "good" (*kalon*) for that man if he had never been born. Judas pre-existence before God had then been a good existence in comparison with the wretched life and death of the traitor. We must love and admire Jesus, who in the moment of Judas' betraying and kissing him, calls him "friend" *hetaire.* If then Judas is eternally condemned, it is not because of Jesus' anger, but through his own sinfulness and self-condemnation. Again if we consider the promise of the restoration of all things, we find that there is hope even for Judas. Besides, it is of greatest importance to remember that the writers of the New Testament use the same terrible prophecies about Judas as well as about Israel, Ps. lxix. 23–25, Rom. xi. 9–12, Acts i. 19, 20. "But Israel shall all be saved, when the fullness of the Gentiles be come in," Rom. xi. 26. If Israel be saved, Judas must be included. Thus seen in the light of other Scriptures, Jesus' woe to Judas does not give evidence for accepting the doctrine of the eternal punishment, only as long as one remains a sinner. But we have shown that all sinners do not suffer alike, nor is an endless suffering in accordance with God's fatherly mercy or with the free constitution of man.

We reach, then, these conclusions: *First,*—The Bible teaches decidedly in many places the restoration of all things, not only as a consequence of God's eternal will of holy love, but also as the final and free destination of fallen men and spirits, under God's authority, within the bounds given by Him to the rational world. But the road to holy and eternal life in God, runs, for the sinner, through God's punishment and judgment

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in the first, as well as in the second, death. The ways of the Lord are not our ways. At last, when Christ's faith and love are ours, we will find that all the ways of the Lord with us and the whole humanity, have been directed by His wise, holy and loving kindness. God is love. That is the key to all the problems in this life and the next.

Second. Those who in this life who have not been willing to listen to "Moses and the prophets," or to Messiah, and have not turned to God in penitence and faith, having neglected the opportunities of this life, have to expect a harder lot after this life. They meet their punishment in Hades, whose fire is described in the Bible as terrible and tormenting but purifying. If some members of the large organism of humanity, such as the sinners against the Holy Spirit, should not repent in Hades, they will with all hardened sinners be thrown in Gehenna, the last judgment, which is the most terrible of all punishments. This is the second death, "the fire prepared for the devil and his angels." But even Gehenna shall cease, when the object of its punishment is gained. "No death, no curse shall be any more."

Third.—A resurrection of the repenting sinners will then follow, even after the second death, to a blessed and holy life, for nowhere in the Bible is the second death described as eternal or endless. Not until "no death, no curse shall be any more," will Paul's great prophecy "God all in all," be fulfilled. No great gulf will separate humanity. Time and space will disappear for the transfigured humanity, who can with the speed of thought go to the many dwellings of the heavenly Father. Then will the absolute eternity begin, of which we know only what God's word has revealed to us, that which no eye has seen, no ear heard nor any heart divined; all this has God prepared for all those who have learned to love and obey Christ. What rational being would not, then, adore, serve, and eternally love our heavenly Father, who is so gracious, and whose love and living image we can see and honor in Christ? He, the true, sin-free man, who now has all power in the heavens and on earth, and who is "one with the Father,"

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and is the same yesterday, to-day and forever! "For our citizenship is in heaven, from whence we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself," Phil. iii. 20. "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, yea and forever," Heb. xiii. 8.

August Valfrid Lönnegren.

Article III.

Influence.

The susceptibility of the soul to influence when considered in all its bearings, is to one who has the welfare of mankind at heart both encouraging and discouraging. It suggests at once the gravest apprehension and the most ardent hope.

On the one hand, we see an aggregation of bad influences surrounding men, diffusing a subtle poison, stifling and crippling all their good impulses, distorting and malforming their growth, and as would seem, making their improvement an utter impossibility.

We are influenced in a very potent way by what we see, read, think, by our companionships, and above all by the subtle magnetism which loads the social and religious atmosphere we breathe. Unconsciously character takes its type and color from these. The chemically prepared plate which the phographer uses is scarcely more sensitive to the light than is the human soul to these outward conditions. The strong and weak are vulnerable to their touch. Had we a mental and spiritual laboratory equal to the work, by which we could analyze character with the accuracy with which the chemist analyzes material substances, doubtless we should place a very large percentage of what goes to make up good and bad character to the account of circumstances and education. As the

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most conspicuous qualities, good and bad, which had excited admiration on the one hand, or on the other had made the blood curdle with horror, were melted down in the crucible and distilled in the alembic, we should be amazed to find what a part things external to the soul has played in their formation. We should find several grains of pre-natal influence which had persisted in asserting themselves to the end. Then it would be found that climate had left its impress; food and scenery also. The lineaments of a mountain peak indelibly traced, might be among the determining factors. Early training, home influence antedating memory, here and there a bad twist from an unwholesome parental example, or a scar wrought by a sirrocco of passion excited by conspicuous ill treatment, perhaps offset by the traces of a pathos high and deep, excited by the experience of some thrilling magnanimity. Then there would be found the moulding power of the ideas and moral standards of the age, the education, and above all the friendships and companionships which communicate their touch of evil or good.

It would certainly be very interesting to have before us an exact analysis of this kind of some conspicuous character, that we might note what percentage of praise or blame really belongs to that realm where the personality is supreme. Doubtless we should find in regard to what is praiseworthy or blameworthy much less difference between the good and bad than we had thought.

When we consider man's pre-eminent susceptibility to influence, how good and bad communications make or unmake us, we cannot overestimate the importance of our surroundings, the companionships we choose or discard; for we shall be so very likely by slow degrees, but none the less infallibly, to conform to the character of those with whom we intimately associate. It is not at all probable that we shall be able thus to touch low and bad people without being soiled by them. Nor can we come under the influence of pure and high-minded people without feeling something breezy and inspiring, and being elevated and purified. Good associations and the influences which issue therefrom are salutary, helpful, blessed. Bad as-

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sociatious and companionships are in the same ratio debasing and destructive. There are good and bad influences in the world. He therefore who would avoid the slope to destruction and rise to the higher ranks of life and character, must choose the good and eschew the bad.

But let us not be misled by the magnitude and preponderance of outward influence in shaping character. Because it does so much, it does not follow that it does everything. Tremendous as is the drift of these tides of circumstance, man is not absolutely a helpless waif on their remorseless floods. Mighty as is circumstance, we must never forget the possible potency of the central force. It will not do to ignore the fact that amid the clash and roar of conditions so mighty and persistent in their moulding power there is a realm where the human will is supreme. It has the ability to resist the encroachments of conditions, to modify and shape them.

With these conditions passively received, certain results are as inevitable as fate. A ship at sea with no will power or purpose, or navigating science applied to its movements, will drift with the wind. No matter if reefs and shoals lie in its course, there is no help for it. But with will and purpose and the science of navigation, it may be sailed almost into the wind, and to any port on the face of the earth. And so of the human bark amid the winds of circumstance; within certain limits, as regards moral results, we may sail where we will. We may drift, or beat and make progress. Everything depends upon how we trim our sails and handle the rudder. For there is nothing more certain than that character is the result of a wrestle with resisting conditions, and the stronger the resistance the more fibrous it may be. Merit in the sight of God most assuredly will be in every case in proportion to the vigor with which we battle with the foes of our integrity and peace. Nor is it by any means clear that there is any person whose environment is so evil that to some extent resistance may not be made, and some fiber of character woven, which, when measured by his conditions will reflect upon his life an enduring credit.

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Again, making all due allowance for inevitable conditions as the determining factors in what we shall become, nevertheless, in no small degree, we have the power to choose the influences which shall control us. A communication good or evil is not an influence simply aimed at us, but one which not only hits the mark but which also is given hospitable welcome to the heart. Hence it does not follow that we must necessarily receive a moral communication from everything with which we come in physical contact, or from every person with whom we converse, and who assumes to give us advice. If we live in the world we must have this kind of contact with its men and its affairs. But as the germ of the plant determines what it shall select and absorb from the great laboratory of nature where food and poison are compounded, so the germ of a human purpose, its temper and aspirations, may very largely determine what it will select from the complex influences with which its surroundings are loaded, and absorb as the nourishment of life and character. Hence to shun evil influences it is not necessary to shun acquaintanceship and contact with evil people. The very key-note of Christianity is a protest against such isolation. Jesus himself set the example of stepping down from the circles of the pure into the slums of human degradation to find his field of work. But by so doing he ran no risk of receiving evil and corrupting influences from these people. And yet he drew himself very near to them,—just as near as he possibly could. He however had no communion with what was vicious and bad in them, but his heart went out in warmest sympathy with the good in them. He went feeling about for the divine side of these low-down people with corrupt environment, and received a communication doubtless of strength and blessedness therefrom. The cowardly, selfish, course which has an eye supremely to the interests of one's own soul, disregarding the good of others, going upon the principle that we will hold no intercourse with any who are not higher up than we, in order that we may receive something rather than give off something, may possibly be orthodox, but it is certainly most noticeably unchristian. It is a good thing for a man sometimes to forget

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that he has a soul. To make the safety of one's own soul the supreme motive of life is selfish and morally shrivelling to the last degree. Doubtless there is no such potent safeguard against all forms of evil influence as self-forgetful philanthropy, as the constant and overmastering impulse of life. It will sweeten all the surroundings. Such a spirit is a nucleus to which all good influences will gravitate. With it we can go anywhere and touch all kinds of people with safety, for with this kind of a touch we shall bring out the best there is in them. Now, the best there is in those called degraded and bad when worked by these tools will prove an inexhaustible lode, full of shining gold. Doubtless the best tonic for the soul to be found in all the wide realm of its possible activities is this kind of Christian work.

If men are to be saved, if the human race is to be saved, this kind of work must be done. The strong must help the weak; the pure must communicate with the impure; the most Christianized must step down to the side of the less Christianized and to the unchristianized. For it is by influence that men are to be lifted up and saved.

As it is evident that there are few if any with strength of will and personality so great that they cannot be misled and gradually pulled down by adverse influence, so encased in moral armor that no weak joint may be found where a lance of evil may be successfully pushed in, it is just as true that no soul is absolutely impervious to good influences. When, therefore, we are inclined to be pessimistic in view of the strong grip with which evil associations hold men, and are appalled at their multitudinous victims and the wrecked lives with which their bloodstained work is fraught, it will encourage and relieve us to consider that the potency of influence is not a discouragement *per se*, for it opens the way and indicates the means by which any soul, however lost, may be saved. For, given a power equal to the changing of the currents of influence and the work is assured.

We have no right to affirm, for we have no reason to presume, that there is a man on the face of the earth so viciously

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inclined and hardened that he might not, if placed amid right conditions and subjected to the strongest influences we know, be made better. We have no right to assume that there is any one so hard as not to have some soft spot in the heart, some hidden memory of tenderness, some buried spring of pathos which, if properly applied to and with a touch sufficiently strong and magnetic, would not be equal to the transforming of the life. We have no right to hold any man as absolutely incorrigible, because we have known those who appeared equally so to be softened and regenerated. You cannot know what is in a man by his exterior and what he manifests. If his exterior is of ice it does not therefore follow that he is frozen all through. You do not know what possibilities are latent until he is warmed and cheered by the sunshine of living souls. Take the worst man you know and he can be matched by men in the kingdom of God whose lives are fruitful and fragrant with Christian righteousness, who have been brought up by sweet and hallowing influences from as low a degradation. This makes it altogether probable that the worst man may be thus regenerated if a way can only be found to the best there is in him. The simple fact that the influence to reach and reform him has not yet been forthcoming proves nothing. Certainly it does not prove that it does not exist. The influence to reach the hoary transgressor of half a century who seemed to be getting worse every day was not visible until in some crisis of his life he came into contact with and under the spell of some great and sweet soul, and amid conditions where moral influences were focalized, felt the touch of a new experience, and inhaled the fragrance which swept down from the supernal hills.

What one person cannot do toward influencing a bad man to lead a better life very often another can. The one possesses either the strength or the unique adaptability which the other lacks. The stronger a man is in his personality, the higher his moral and spiritual development, the finer its grain and quality, and the more perfect his tact and consecration, the more potent he will be to influence others for good. And it is as potent as that

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the sun gives light that when a wicked man comes in contact with one sufficiently strong in these respects, and who shall see fit to exert the maximum of his influence, there will take place a hopeful moral change in the trend of his life. There are conditions and combinations of influence,—there is some person somewhere strong enough to change the currents of the worst man's thinking and living,—some man or some angel in the world of light who can do this. When we consider what subtle potencies there are in conditions,—what marvels of transformation are wrought by improved physical conditions such as cleanliness, pure air, sunshine, wholesome food, sweet water, sanitary observances, together with mental friction and a decent moral example, especially when we consider what very weak Christian people are able to do when they really put themselves to work, it would be wonderful indeed if there were not some man or woman or some angel who can reach those we fail to reach. If we can do anything, produce even a ripple of better purpose in any one given up to bad ways, what may not better men than we do. What may not a soul as pure, stalwart and divine as Jesus do. If man can do anything, what may not God, the infinite personality, do when He chooses to bring to bear the full measure of His influence upon a human being. It would be scarcely less than sacrilege to say there are any too incorrigible for Him to mould and redeem;—that the things which are impossible with us are impossible with Him also.

The logic of all this is very clear and conclusive as regards the savableness of mankind and against the necessity of the ultimate destruction of any soul, and even against the possibility of such a result with such measureless potencies of moral influence centered in him who is the father of all. For notwithstanding all that can be said concerning the moral and spiritual character of salvation, that it involves the unforced action of the will, and therefore rules out the physical power of God as a factor in the work, the same cannot apply to his moral power. He certainly has power by the strength of influence to attract and affect men. As we can do this in a small

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degree so God can do so in proportion as his powers are measureless. To one, therefore, who has felt the beat of parental love in his heart it is not a very long stride between cause and effect to the conclusion that rather than suffer a child to be utterly lost, the good father would not hesitate to draw upon his utmost resources of influence.

Doubtless the exhaustlessness and resistlessness of the divine influence were in full view when the Saviour said "no man can come to me except the Father draw him." And—"all that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." Against all gloomy forebodings concerning the ultimate destiny of the human race, we may present the philosophy of influence,—the measureless amount of influence which must be held in reserve by the infinite one, and the grand words of Jesus, which assure us that it will be used to the utmost rather than suffer eternal ruin to come to any soul.

As there is said to be electricity enough in a drop of water to create a thunder bolt, so there is moral influence enough anywhere when God shall see fit to concentrate it, to kindle volcanic fires and produce earthquakes of moral and spiritual revolution in the most incorrigible soul which ever lifted its head in defiance against the laws of the universe.

Why, then, are sin and the evil it brings suffered to exist? Why are they suffered to deface and soil the world? Why does not a wave of influence go out from the central spirit and make creation clean? Why should a heart ache, or a tear glisten in a human eye as the result of this great scourge, when by a fiat the influence could be unchained which would put an end to it forever? Why are these forces held back while the dark drama proceeds? Why does God with the ready remedy at hand, look calmly upon this great seething pool of injustice, corruption and misery while countless generations come and go? Why does He put impulses into good men to do their best to bring their fellow beings up out of these conditions while He with all His ability does little or nothing? This has been the question of questions since the first recorded brain

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throb went out in inquiry into man's mysterious environment. All sorts of discouraging and heart chilling conclusious have been drawn from the cold, stern facts which obtrude themselves. We have had a heartless God, who could save but would not.—an imbecile God, who would save but cannot,—and no God at all, as systems based upon them. One says the fact that God suffers men to remain in sin here justifies the conclusion that he will suffer them to remain thus forever. Another says the fact that there are men God cannot save in this life justifies the conclusion that there will be those whom He cannot save in the world to come. And the agnostic and atheist ring unceasing changes upon untoward and dreadful things which would not be permitted if there were any God at all presiding over this mad and chaotic universe.

Now without assuming to solve the problem of the ages, we may be permitted very modestly to offer a few suggestions which seem measurably to lift some of the clouds of difficulty from the subject:

First, in regard to the permission of things which are so contrary to our idea of what should be, and which conscience impels us to work against. The ideal of what is morally suitable, the sympathy and conscience which protests against cruelty and wrong, are important factors in the problem. It would seem altogether improbable in a universe where intelligence, order, sympathy and conscience exist at all, that they are not supreme. It is of the nature of an axiom that mind, intelligence, if it have an existence, is superior to material things. If there be such a thing as good, when considered with reference to the widest range of results, it must be superior to evil, because to our consciousness it ranks among higher powers. But if good is in its essence supreme, wherefore the permission of evil?

The law of progress substantially answers this question. Why this law was ordained no man can say, but that it runs through creation will not be questioned. This is one of the few things science seems to have settled. Nothing in nature is made, in the mechanical sense, but things grow.

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The continents grew by stratification. All living things grow. Higher epochs evolve from lower. The most beautiful things grow from a rough parentage and cruder antetypes. Now it does not seem, from what we can see, that this great law of progress had an evil origin, or tends to evil ultimates, but the reverse. In the material world it certainly works well. From the time when the gases began to condense, to the appearance of the sunlit mountains and the continents with their adornments of foliage and teeming life, there has been a steady advancement toward a more perfect order and the production of more beautiful things. Why should not this law work just as well in the moral world? And why should not the crude and distorted things, which to a high moral sense are so shocking, be relegated to the formative and imperfect stage of a work which is to grow to perfection? The fire-scarred rock which underlies alluvium, however barren and unsightly, does not indicate the existence of a force adverse to vegetation and harvests. The sourness of the crab, which is the parent of the finely-flavored pippin, when we note the possibilities and to what end those crude activities were tending, is not proof to us that the creating force favors sourness or is opposed to what is most delicious to the taste. Neither is the existence of sin in the inchoate man and in the incomplete stage of a divine and growing purpose, indicative that God favors sin, nor that the dominating power of the universe is adverse to the highest purity and well-being of men. As the harvests crown the volcanic rocks, and the pippin succeeds the sour and bitter crab, why not purity and felicity, by virtue of forces of like character which have been projected, issue from the stormy activities of the present and the wrestle of man with his stern conditions?

The trouble is we are judging God by the smaller segment of His work. It is certainly most presumptuous to judge or speak ill of it until we have seen a great deal more of it. It would be obviously unfair to judge adversely of an architectural structure when it is scarcely begun. The presumption of excellence the architect is entitled to. Even if there is a good

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deal of material lying round the use of which you do not understand, nor how it can possibly be worked into a symmetrical structure, and much about the structure itself, so far as it has progressed, which seems crude and distorted, with many chips and much rubbish scattered about, you would be greatly at fault should you bring these things up as an impeachment of the plan until in the actual, or to your conception, you had seen it worked all through. Especially with one who has been a close student of the history of the material creation, and concedes that possibly solid worlds may have been consolidated out of nebulous gases, there ought to be the presumption of a wise plan and successful consummation on the part of God in the moral world.

And to one who is agnostic in regard to plan and order and the victory of good in this realm, let him conceive if he can what would have been the extent of his agnosticism had he been permitted to bring to bear his powers of criticism on the gaseous epoch with some seer of the future predicting the sun and constellations and the birth of man. Well might Dr. Franklin say that to him it was much less probable before the event that man should come into existence than that he should live after death. And we cannot but feel that before the event the probability that these tremendous moral conflicts which are only possible where high spiritual powers exist, should be precipitated, than that they are the orderly sequence in the march of a great and beneficent purpose by which the reign of supreme goodness in every age will finally be made conspicuous before every soul.

Finally, a word in regard to the possible reason why man is not subjected to the maximum of God's moral influence. It may be out of respect to his personality, and because a finer quality of character can be produced by a slower process. Too much of the magnetism of influence, while it may be entirely effectual as to results, may, as it were, by taking the will by storm, crisp some of the finer fibers of character. In a recent popular novel there is a family where there was one very pure and finely tempered soul who exerted an overmastering influ-

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ence over all the members of the household. Her influence was sweet and good, but there came a time when there was a serious question whether there was not too much of it,—whether it was not too positive and irresistible for the highest moral interests of those on whom it was brought to bear; a question whether it did not do everything for them, leaving nothing for them to do for themselves. And when she was about to go away from them there seems to be a good deal of practical sense in the remark of one sister to another,—"I think it will be a good thing, for after all, do you not think it about time we had a little character, too?"

We have seen people under the spell of some potent moral influence entirely good and sweet, emanating from some strong nature so tremendous in its sweep as to give no opportunity for the play of the forces of a more delicate personality by virtue of which alone the best things in human character can be produced. If human influence may be too positive and overpowering for the highest moral good of those on whom it is brought to bear, if better results can be obtained sometimes by leaving the weaker individuality a little more to itself, we can well understand that it might not be best for the infinite to confront a wayward human soul, or one in any of the stages of its development, by the maximum of his influence. It might, we can conceive, be much more conducive to the highest results to dilute it somewhat, to pass it through human mediums; in short, to so temper it that it shall not be felt to be a feather's weight of interference with the play of the most delicate fiber of the individuality. It may be a more exigent problem with God how to withhold than how to bring to bear His influence in order that His children may have character of their own creation. In developing men He is engaged in a far grander undertaking than can possibly be accomplished by any mere fiat. It is a picture of exceeding beauty He is painting, and the colors must be laid on with extreme care. A very delicate brush must be used, for there are very fine lines to be drawn. Let us have patience. Divine influence is as diffusive as the air which belts the globe. It is

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not excluded from the slums of degradation even. Such as on the whole is best will find its way there. We do not know what preparation souls are receiving for the highest blessings from the darkest and most adverse experience. It is enough that the influence of God is of eternal duration, and must in the end prove more than a match for all the influences of evil.

Asa Saxe.

Article IV.

On Popular Study of the Old Testament.

The purpose of this paper is not so much to discuss the importance of a profound and critical study of the Old Testament as to speak of its value as a book to be read and known by the people. Not that the results of criticism are to be overlooked by the popular reader. While we have not learning sufficient for that profounder study, we, the people, are apt to reap all the advantages from the labors of those who have that genius. The results of the higher criticism are that for the first time in history we are able to see the real Old Testament.[1] The popular reader of that book may, if he will, read it to-day in the light of profound and reverent scholarship. In this light he must read the Old Testament or he does not read it at all. Neither is it our purpose to plead for any exclusive reading of the Old Testament. It must not be wrested out of its true relation to the New Testament nor torn from its historical settings. This paper is a discussion of the value to the people of to-day of the Old Testament as accepted higher criticism presents it to us.

That such a discussion is timely seems evident to one who has listened for a number of years to the opinions of our Sunday school workers. The International Lessons adopt the

[1] The phrase "Higher Criticism" is not used in the sense of Rationalism, nor Destructive criticism; but meaning all scholarly and reverent effort to "determine what the Bible is."

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policy of spending about one-half the time on the Old Testament. Many of our best workers vigorously protest. They declare the Old Testament not spiritually profitable enough in comparison with the New, to warrant our youth spending one-half their time, or indeed hardly any of their time in study of the former. They ask why should we or our children study the law which Noah thought was the word of God, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed;" or the word Moses heard, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth;" or the word that David heard, "Do not I hate them who hate thee? Yea, I hate them with a perfect hatred." What further profit for us in that conception of God which saw him change His mind, lose His temper, make mistakes and repent Himself? Why longer read Miriam's song of triumph over a slain enemy, or Deborah's exultation over a defeated foe, and blessing of Jael, the murderer of one who had accepted her hospitality? What possible good in reading those stories and expressions which to modern ears are, to say the least, indelicate? Is it profitable for us to study the long genealogies, stories of drunkenness, lust, slavery, polygamy and cruel exterminating wars of a past age? Why longer read the imprecatory and vindictive Psalms? These things not only deeply trouble many earnest and devout workers in the church, but are the ground of the keenest thrusts from the unbelievers. Mr. Ingersoll and his school are never weary of reminding us what a barbarous production the Old Testament is. What reply can be made to these objections and questions?

By those who hold a certain view of the Old Testament probably no answer can be made that will be recognized by many as reasonable. The view referred to is that which sees every syllable of the Bible as equipollent; one text the absolute word of God as fully heard and infallibly recorded as any other; the word Adam and Noah heard as absolute hearing as John or Paul were capable of, or even Jesus. The man who holds the Bible in this fashion if asked how the same God said through David "Hate your enemies with a perfect hatred," and through the four Evangelists, "Love your enemies," can

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only answer, "I do not know how. I walk by faith and not by sight." "How these contradictory statements can co-exist with verbal inspiration and each be the infallible word of the infinite God, I do not know, I only believe they can." Of course to such an one an intellectual obstacle is no obstacle at all. To adopt an Hibernianism, he "gets round it by never getting to it." There are thousands of devout and trustful Christians who in an hour of need open the Bible where it happens and read whatever their eye first strikes, with never a doubt but they are reading the absolute voice of God to them. If it is language they would not utter in conversation, a story of sin, wrath, or war, or the sermon on the mount, they read them as all of the same quality. It is all God's holy word. As we shall see a little further on some harm is done by this fashion of reading; let us here acknowledge the great good that has come from it.

I recall a prize fighter and gambler and drunkard who was in middle life converted. He was a man of powerful physique and restless energy, with little or no school instruction. He began to observe the Christian custom of family prayers. Chancing to call at his house, I found him leading his family in their morning devotions. At his invitation I remained. He had begun the reading of the Old Testament in course, and had reached Genesis, tenth chapter. The thirty-two verses of that chapter are not easy reading, and to some people, perhaps not hypercritical, not profitable for spiritual instruction. However, this earnest, unschooled man wrestled with it in implicit trust that it was God's supreme word to him. "And Joktam begat Almodad and Sheleph and Hazarmaveth and Hadoran and Uzal and Diklah," and so on to the end. His muscles stood out like cords, and his forehead was beaded with perspiration as he valiantly met those heroes of old and tried to call them by name. The reading over, in earnest prayer he thanked God for the light that shone on him from the inspired word. No one who knew him questioned whether the light did really shine. It was certain that the words which have nothing for the critic, glowed with light and warmth on him. True,

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one may say that it was the reflection of his own glowing heart all alight with its new found joy; but the book he glowed upon must be better than all others fitted to glow back. So this old book has glowed back upon its millions. This devout, unquestioning reading of the Old Testament, with no dream of higher criticism, by the Christian half the time, by the Jew all the time, has produced strong, pure, faithful men and women. Has it fostered polygamy or impurity? Let the life of Jew and Puritan, and Churchman, who hears an Old Testament lesson at every church service, answer.

As objects hideous and repulsive seen with naked eye, looked at through a clear prismatic glass, are surrounded with a soft rainbow and halo of beauty, so the pure, hungry and reverent soul has transmuted into life's ornament and stay portions of the Old Testament which the skeptic and cold critic have no patience with. This is the story of not a few of the grandest lives on earth; from Jesus and Paul, instructed from infancy in the Old Testament, down to our own times. One may well ask what the prospects are that an age which discards the Old Testament will produce as noble a race of children as those ages that trustfully read every word of it.

To a large and increasing class this old-fashioned reading of the Bible as in all parts equipollent, has passed away. We have come up face to face with the obstacles. We have no quarrel with those who happily can read on in the old simple fashion, we would simply recognize the fact that for some such reading is no longer possible.

What answer have this class to the objections named against the Old Testament, and what reasons why they will still study it? There are certainly well based answers to objectors, and sound reasons for popular study of the Old Testament. The thoughtful and reverent reader must first reflect on the nature of God's word and the method of its communication to mankind. In what sense is the Old Testament the record of the word of God? Approached from the Divine side we conceive God has only absolute and final words which He forever speaks to men. He cannot speak one word in one age and a

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contradictory word in another age. God is truth, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. God's word is therefore wholly truth. Approached from the human side, and from this side we ever do approach, all we can know of this absolute word of God is what man has been able to hear. In every age and race there have been seers and listeners, by nature pre-eminently fitted to hear God's word. It is the glory of Israel to have exceeded all other nations in producing such souls. God's power to speak is not limited; but our power to hear is limited by our human conditions. God chose to create these limiting conditions and chooses to respect them. The man hears God's word limited by his age, race and condition. Noah and Abraham truly heard the word of God. To say they heard it as fully as John or Paul heard it is to speak in defiance of the facts as these men themselves claim. Hence we believe in the progressiveness of revelation, not meaning thereby a change in God's word, but rather man's steady gain in power to hear that word. Says Stanley:

"The age of the psalmists and prophets was in immense advance upon the age of chivalry and the crusaders; but it is well from time to time to be reminded that there are virtues in chivalry and in barbarism as well as in reason and civilization; and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews has taught us that even the most imperfect of the champions of ancient times may be ranked in the cloud of the witnesses of faith,—'God having provided some better thing for us that they without us might not be made perfect.'"[2]

Or the same author says again:

"There are some excellent men who disparage the Old Testament as the best means of saving the New. There are others who think that it can only be maintained by discouraging all inquiries into its authority or its contents. It is true that the Old Testament is inferior to the New, that it contains many institutions and precepts which have been condemned or abandoned by the tacit consent of nearly the whole of Christendom. But this inferiority is no more than both Testaments freely recognize; the one by pointing to a future greater than itself, the other by insisting on the gradual, partial imperfect

[2] Stanley's Hist, of Jewish ch., vol. I. p. 277.

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character of the Revelations that had preceded it. It is true also that the rigid acceptance of every part of the Old Testament, as of equal authority, equal value, and equal accuracy, is rendered impossible by every advance made in Biblical science and by every increase of our acquaintance with Eastern customs and primeval history. But it is no less true that by almost every one of these advances the beauty and the grandeur of the substance and spirit of its different parts are enhanced to a degree for transcending all that was possible in former ages."[3]

We who are not able to read the Old Testament in the old way, but look upon it as such a measure of God's absolute word as each writer in each age was capable of hearing, have in this view the source of our ready answer to the objections cited. That answer is, those partial and imperfect words were such as men of those ages with their measure of spiritual light could hear. They were great souls, the greatest of their time, stretching their hands upward through the world's darkness toward God. To condemn them because they did not hear all that Paul heard is to condemn the acorn for not being an oak in a single day. To measure them by our standards two thousand year later is surely criticism gone mad.

Some such an answer as this would not induce the critic of the utility of the Old Testament, to give up his objection; but only to change the form of that objection. He might say, "granted that these Old Testament ideas are not to be measured by our standards, but were rather the best word of God Israel could hear; granted that they were useful in their time, we have now heard a clearer word; we have now the Christ word; why any longer read the older, inferior words. Since life is short and at best we learn but little, is it not wise that that little be the latest and best word of God." Undoubtedly sandals for the feet, a camel to ride, a crooked stick to plough with, were the best our fathers knew. We have better devices, shall we then occupy half our time with primitive devices? Let us put these relics in the museum and use the infinitely better things man's genius has since wrought out. So let us

[3] From Preface to Stanley's History of Jewish Church.

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put the Old Testament into the museum for relics and give ourselves wholly to the study of the New.

We have spoken of some great advantages in taking all scripture words as equipollent; when we think of the evils that inhere in that method we are for the moment tempted to say, let the Old Testament be indeed forgotten. When the zealous anti-slavery man heard from a hundred pulpits voices stoutly declaring that because Moses conceived of God's word as a permit to hold slaves in his age, hence slavery is a Divine institution forever, we do not wonder if he wearied of the Old Testament. When we hear intemperance, capital punishment, blood atonement, war, or the ideas of a petulant God, defended because holy men of old in their age with their light so conceived God's word, and hence these things are God ordained ideas and institutious for all times and places, we grow impatient with the Old Testament. The quick second thought however leads us to ask are these evils inherent in the Book or only in a blind and foolish method of using the Book? We believe there are in the Old Testament such abundant and inspiring sources of life that it is well worth all it will cost to teach men to read it aright. Reading it in the light of the higher criticism will do away with all this popular mis-reading of it. Certain portions of the Old Testament, it may be said, need not be debated upon here, since all admit the value of popular study of them. The best Psalms and Proverbs, some of the poetry and prophecy may well be arranged for children and youth to study. The objections relate to the historical books, and sections and passages of the others. But this is a distortion and not the true picture. No man can see the true grandeur of these parts without the groundwork out of which they rose. That such sublime utterance came from such a people "hewn from such rocks and digged from such pits" is the perrenial and wondrous truth that God was in it.

No man ever saw Niagara as that artist who would paint the picture of it did. When to make himself comprehend it he viewed it hours from every possible point, and then in a boat ventured so near its foot that all beholders trembled, and sent

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his plummet line down into the seething, boiling cauldron of waters at its very feet. When he found the black troubled pool was as deep as the visible falls were high, he began to comprehend Niagara. The study of an abridged Old Testament will never reveal the true glory of the Book. The whole Bible must be studied, presenting Israel's depths and heights, for only as we know how deep the depths are can we feel how high the heights are. Coming to the Old Testament in this light, seeing it just as its authors saw it, not as a final and sufficient hearing of God's word but the harbinger and prophecy of a clearer hearing and seeing Him; taking it as sacred literature not precise and mechanical dogma; what are the reasons to be urged for its study?

Four reasons are here presented.

1. The Old Testament is worthy of our study to keep constantly before us at what great cost our present religious freedom was purchased, and how slow and painful have been the steps to our present religious attainment. We recognize the importance of teaching every child history with all its wars, persecutions and killings; not that these things in themselves are desirable to contemplate, but that knowing vividly what his country cost he shall greatly love it. Suppose certain parties object to the study of history because our fathers hanged witches, whipped Quakers and beheaded criminals. Or suppose they argued because our fathers did these things hence we must hang and burn those we think a little queer; would any sane man urge from this mis-use of history that we ought to destroy all historical records? That would be madness indeed. Instead of this we should teach our youth to read history aright, using and not abusing it. It is imperative that we realize that political freedom did not come of itself, did not spring up in a night full grown; but that the path from the beginning to the present is a torturous path, beaten hard by numberless naked and bleeding feet.

Every child who goes to a home and at night lies down to sleep with no fear that lawless barbarians will seize the paternal estate or murder the possessors, should realize fully what that inestimable blessing of security cost.

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The Old Testament is the story of our moral and religious ancestry precisely as secular history is of our political and social ancestry; and the reasons that exist for studying the latter exist in still greater force for studying the former. Every little child who kneeling at his parent's knee says "Our Father" should be patiently and thoroughly taught the whole story of what it has cost mankind to learn to pray that prayer. The child not so taught is deprived of a part of its patrimony. It should see all the painful endeavor, the bloody wars, the partial conceptions, the fiery trials along the way; for seeing these its prayer becomes an infinitely more heart-felt cry. In these days of religious indifference and indisposition to face hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, nothing could more effectually arouse us than a renewed familiarity, a vivid conception of the price that has been paid for our soul's life today. The clearer one sees that as evidences appear in the Old Testament the more they prize religion and toil to hand it on to coming generations still nobler than they received it. If this were the only reason for popular study of the Old Testament it would be enough.

2. The Old Testament is worth the world's study regarded simply as literature, even using the term literature in its lowest sense, as only touching the intellect. As history, poetry and high prose no book has so awakened intellectual power. John Ruskin, of whom Mazzini said "he has the most analytic mind in Europe," in his Prœterita bears testimony in regard to his early training as follows:

"My mother as soon as I was able to read began a course of Bible work with me which never ceased till I went to Oxford. She began with the first verse of Genesis and went straight through to the last verse of the Apocalypse; hard names, numbers, Levitical law and all; and began again at Genesis the next day. If a name was hard the better the exercise in pronunciation, if a chapter was tiresome the better the lesson in patience, if loathsome the better lesson in faith that there was some use in being so outspoken. . . . and truly this maternal installation of my mind in that property of chapters, I count very confidently the most precious, and on the whole the one *essential* part of all my education."

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Ruskin preserves for us the list of chapters which he committed to memory; eighteen from the Old, nine from the New Testament. The value of the Old Testament as literature in the highest sense; that is touching not alone the intellect but inspiring the whole man, so much exceeds this however, that we pass to the consideration of that sense.

3. We need to study the Old Testament for its grand and inspiring examples. Moses conceiving of God as angry, Joshua slaying God's enemies, David hating them with a perfect hatred are after all the grandest examples of history. Of course we are not to copy their methods but their principles we are. We are not to conceive of God's anger as petulance or rage; but we are to conceive of it vividly as righteous indignation against sin. We are to see clearly how God is a consuming fire to all evil. To forget it is to degenerate into mere sentimentalists. Moses with his righteous God, loving rightness, hating wrongness, is an inspiring picture for us. We are to follow Joshua in slaying God's enemies; but not with the sword or rope or electricity. We have the new way of killing evil minded men with Christian love. That old idea of Joshua's that we are never to compromise with the opposers of God but are to set our faces against them like flint and fight them until we have killed the last man, woman and babe;—after Jesus' method of killing,—is an idea we are to hold for our very lives. Not a few modern nominal Christians, compromising with the world's spirit, need a good bracing tonic and may find it in Joshua's heroic idea. If David means we are to hate persons Jesus has told us better; but we are to hate God's enemies with a perfect hatred, seeing however God's enemies as evil principles not individuals. No book has such power to stir moral enthusiasm. Says Matthew Arnold;

"As long as the world lasts all who want to make progress in righteousness will come to Israel for inspiration, as to the people who have the sense for righteousness most glowing and strongest; and in hearing and reading the words Israel has uttered for us, carers for conduct will find a glow and a force they could find no where else."

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What perennial inspiration in the story of the Prophets' life and work when rightly read. How Stanley makes us feel it as he contrasts it against the world's spirit.

"The spirit of the world asks *first*, "Is it safe? Is it pious?" *secondly*, "Is it true?"[5] The spirit of the Prophets asks *first*, "Is it true?" *secondly*, "Is it safe?" The spirit of the world asks *first*, "Is it prudent?" *secondly*, "Is it right?" The spirit of the prophets asks *first*, "Is it right?" *secondly*, "Is it prudent?"

It is an inspiration to study the Prophets as workers for the State; to see their intense consciousness of the presence of God; to hear their impassioned pleas for rightness and obedience above ritual and creed. The human heart then in this and every age when it would renew and increase its sense of God and rightness must come to this Old Testament. It is thus seen as literature in its very highest sense as touching with enthusiasm the whole man. This is not mere theory either. The Bible has actually done this for man, as a study of the revival of letters after the dark ages abundantly proves.

4. The Old Testament is worth our study not only because it is thus the history of a race which excelled in its sense of God and rightness; but also because it is in a striking sense the history of every individual. The Philosophers have said man is a microcosm; Dr. Reid says "an epitome of the Universe."

Every individual life is in many ways an epitome of the Bible story. Each person begins life an innocent babe in Eden, not knowing good from evil; so did Israel begin. "Heaven lies about us in our infancy;" so Adam and Eve walked with God in Eden. There came later a day when the soul first consciously sinned; a feeling of alienation from God, driven out of Eden; so the Old Testament describes Israel. Then began the struggle from innocence to holiness. Sometimes the soul hears God's voice, sometimes 'tis led into Egypt's slavery; sometimes the soul is brave and kingly, sometimes carried away into captivity. So in Israel's history. In many lives there is a period when God is apprehended as angry. Not a fewreach the

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stage and never pass it in this life, where they hate their enemies with a perfect hatred. All this is an epitome of the Old Testament story. We who condemn David for hating and Joshua for killing, do we hate and have murder in our hearts? Our hate and revenge is petty and personal, theirs for a people and a principle; ours in defiance of the Christ-light for two thousand years, theirs in an age which could know no better. In many respects Israel's wars were surgery not murder; is our anger so dignified? There are seen here and there souls born out of the Israel stage into the Christ-light and life; souls who have put away rage, hate and lust. Thus each stage of every man's life is an epitome of a corresponding stage of Israel's life. These portions of the Old Testament we shrink from reading are after all too often a faithful picture of ourselves; not pleasant to see indeed, but profitable for our healing. It is wholesome for us to faithfully study this word of God "sharper than a two edged sword." We can afford to lay aside the Old Testament when there is no more need that we remember what our religious life cost; no more need of education, no more need to be incited to zeal, no more need that we freshen our sense of God and righteousness, no more need that we hate sin and kill it, when in all the earth no man is found who ever harbors anger, hate, revenge, and does not need to be shown how hideous these are in him as they were in Israel. We believe, therefore, that the study of the Old Testament, if it be true study, will not be overdone, but the danger is that it be not half enough done.

Let preachers and teachers get Stanley and Arnold Ladd, and many others, to show the people how to read the Old Testament and the months the International lessons spend therein will be exceedingly profitable.

L. B. Fisher.

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Article V.

The New Testament Account of Christ.

The New Testament opens with an account of the genealogy of Christ, tracing his ancestral line from Abraham. He is thus in the beginning linked with the head of the Hebrew religion and nationality, and his religion shown to be the blossom and fruitage—the legitimate and expected growth from the Divine planting in Abraham.

God had not failed in his purpose with his chosen people. The seed in Abraham had not proved fruitless. Though fallible men like Moses, Samuel and David, deluded into many human projects, had had in charge the chosen people and the Divine purpose in them, they had not made that purpose abortive, nor defeated its plan of developing through them a Divine Leader, whose mission should be to all people and whose work should carry spiritual blessing to every family and kindred of our suffering race.

This genealogical opening in Matthew, so often complained of as an irrelevant list of old time names, is the conduit of the Divine purpose from Abraham to Christ and links the new with the old dispensation. The old was the preparation for the new. God works by long continued methods. His changes are the growths of His plans. His chosen means have in view the beneficent results, though they may be far off and dimly seen by mortal eyes. Abraham begins a work which through many hands is carried on till the Son of Mary takes it up with the heavenly hosts to join him in it. The New Testament opens with the maturity of the purposes of the Old. Greater, better, and more heavenly things come to pass with the opening of the door into the era of this New Comer from the celestial realm.

The significant fact presented in this New Comer is the opening wider of the door from the spiritual world. God had spoken to Abraham and his successors and directed somewhat their affairs, but now he comes still more among men in the per-

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son of his Son and the power of his spirit. To read this story of the coming of Christ, and not get the inflow of purpose, light and personality from the spiritual realm, is not to get its meaning. It is God more directly, more powerfully and more beneficently in his Son, than through any, or all of his past chosen means of grace. God in his love living and acting in his Son, bringing to bear upon men in the flesh the principles, influences, powers of the spirit world, is the gospel of the new dispensation. It is the revelation of a supernatural life, understanding by supernatural life that which is spiritual and superior to the earthly and temporal. The old religion was largely sensual. Its worship was chiefly ceremonial—a performance addressed to the eye and ear. Its life related to temporalities, to the things of this material order of interests. The life of the new religion to be founded by the Son of Mary related to an order of experience belonging to another world. In principle, in essence, this religion was of the world of spirit. Angels were living by it. The spirits of the departed had gone to know its realities. It was time for the sun of its truth to rise upon this world. The birth of Jesus was the coming through the vail that had thus far hidden from human view the light of that heavenly reality. The account says that angels accompanied his coming. Some critics have doubted the correctness of the account. But the account harmonizes with the dignity of the occasion. If they did not they ought to have come. The opening from above of a new world into this, ought to have brought heralding angels through the vail. The greatness of the event demanded a celebration. It was the introduction of a new era among men; religion was to take on a new meaning; and life to assume immortal relations. What has taken place in human history through the advent of Christianity, was clearly prophesied in the narrated circumstances of that advent. The revelation of a supernatural, eternal and all embracing realm of life which holds in its laws the life that now is and gives aim and meaning to the whole creation, is surely the most momentous single event in human history. The one all-embracing fact of this revelation is that it is from the world of spirit—the sphere of the Divine existence.

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2. As we go forward from Christ's coming to his teaching, we find all based in the idea of his being the Son of God sent from the spirit realm to do his work in this world and to return to that realm to complete there what he had begun here. The "kingdom of heaven" which he established among men, was a kingdom of principles which belong to the realm of spirit. These principles are of God who is a spirit and eternal, and life in them is "the eternal life." This life is soul-blessedness —the sum of all good. To establish this life in men is the purpose of Christ's advent into this world. The beatitudes indicate the inwardness, the spirituality and the blessedness of the principles of the kingdom in which his authority is Divine. They are the essential principles of righteousness, in which the soul may live at its best, grow divine and become powerful in the might of God. They are the ethics of heaven applied in this mortal state—the Divine philosophy made the guide and blessing of the believing soul in its earthly environments. This citizenship of the kingdom of heaven is the supreme good, which in Christ's expressive language is called "eternal life," because it is spiritual and enduring.

It is interesting to note the many forms of expression by which Christ commends it to men, and the fine skill with which he makes material language serve spiritual uses. How many words he transforms. "Kingdom" is informed with the elements of a Divine rule in each believing soul, and the union of all such souls in a community of the children of God. "Life" is made to take on the meaning of the soul experiencing the good of the Divine purpose in its existence. "Riches" is loaded with immortal values. "Knowledge" is made a familiarity with the things of God. "Light" is made the brightness of spiritual things—all excellencies blending together to make the day-time of children of the Highest. "Love" is given the meaning of a heavenly affection. "Righteousness," "Mercy," "Judgment" with him were regnant with the spiritual ethics of his Father's realm. He saw everything in its relation to the eternal verities of which he was a conspicuous part. The one fact which most potently aided in this transformation of lan-

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guage—this enlightenment of common speech with spiritual meaning, was the clear consciousness of his higher-world relations. He did not think or speak of himself as simply a man. He was always a man and something more; and the something-more was the part of him which gave him his transcendent excellencies. In the something more resided the power by which he did "many wonderful works," and lived a life of such unique merit. The something more related him both to God and men, and to this world and the next in the way which gives him supremacy over both and adapts him to the offices and work of his both-world mission. The something more equipped him to be the word, hand and grace of God to his needy family. While in his speech and conduct he magnified his Sonship to men, in his mighty works and the spirit of his life he magnified his Sonship to God, so that those who associated with him intimately, felt like Peter that he was the Son of God. His divineness was manifested in many ways, while his humanness linked his disciples most closely with him.

Considering his uniqueness as the New Testament has given him to us, it is not strange that his followers have had such different opinions of him ranging all the way from "very God" to "very man." It is probable that wisdom would teach them all to be reverently thoughtful against being too positive in any definite views of his personality. That personality is grand and important, but not so definitely stated as to make it likely that he is either "very God" or "very man," but somewhere between, but just where between it is not wise to say. It is enough for a faithful and happy following of him to believe that he is the authority and grace of God to men. The explanation of all that pertains to this something more seems to be found in the supernaturalness of his origin and relations. This view of him makes Jesus the Christ not only the most conspicuous witness of God and the spiritual state to which he belongs but the demonstration of their reality. He stands before the world in the New Testament, the Divinely called witness of the actuality, powers and glory of the spirit-realm in which God resides and from which he, the witness, came.

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3. Christ's sinlessness asserted early and kept in the account to the end, as a marked feature of his life, accords with the supernaturalness that all along distinguished the account of him. Many men live good lives and mark their careers with great usefulness, but none live without sin. No honest man will claim freedom from sin in the sensual and selfish besetments in this life, in the high sense in which Christ is represented as living without sin. His tempations are represented as the severest known to men. His greatness was a powerful appeal to him to seek the earthly elevation to which it would open an easy way. His uniqueness was a lure to awaken in him the love of human distinction. Indeed, he was tempted in all points as men are, and in those which appeal to ambition, as no men are, because of his superiority, and yet he was without sin. This gives him a singularity that marks him as more than human.

4. Christ's wisdom, not less than his sinlessness, intimates the superhumanness of his being. The greatness of men does not insure them against mistakes. It is human to err. Especially in the line of ethics, greatness is liable to error. But here is a character signalized by a wisdom altogether above any known among men. In spiritual things he is represented as astute above all teachers, and so clear and familiar as to indicate his personal acquaintance with the affairs of the spiritual world. He speaks of his Father as from personal knowledge; of his heavenly home as his own peculiar field of work; of the angels as his ministers; of men as his to save; and of the mysteries of life as open to his insight. In all these things he had a knowledge too wonderful for men, and in his teachings and in the conduct of his life in relation to them, he showed a wisdom as great as his knowledge. Beyond question in all this he was more than human. Not another character has been drawn by human pen so exalted and wise, or who was so fraught with power to move upon the world with uplifting influence. There is a superhumanness in this which harmonizes with what is said of him in other regards.

5. The closing scene of Christ's life, more than any other

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part of it, was an exhibition of his alliance with God and of his more than human power. Somewhere near a quarter of the New Testament account of him is occupied with the last week of his life; and the pivotal and powerful point of that week was his resurrection. His death was human and natural; but his resurrection was more than human, and was supernatural. No fair reading of the New Testament sinks, or evades his resurrection. It is a superhuman reality which is an evidence of his alliance with those life forces which belong to the world of spirit. His trial, condemnation and death were such as any man would have experienced under the same circumstances; but his resurrection was what no man could have experienced. All men die; no men are raised from death in this world to demonstrate again their conscious personality and power, except as they have aid from above themselves and from the spirit world.

There may be different interpretations of the language which gives the account of his resurrection. Some may say that his physical body was reanimated with life and took into itself again his spirit which had left it at his death, so that he was the same as before he died, making it necessary for him to die again to become an inhabitant of the spirit realm, or be parted from the flesh in some extraordinary way. Others may say that his resurrection was spiritual, that is, his return to his disciples in his spiritual and immortal form such as they will see him in the "house of many mansions," of which he had so lately told them as their final home, and that his body was supernaturally remanded to its native elements.

Both interpretations have their difficulties; but they both refer his resurrection, whatever may have been its mode, to his own transcendent power and his Father's accompanying spirit. They both make him a more than human being, give him power over death and ally him with the spiritual world. It seems impossible to read out of the account the wonderful and higher-world part of it, and have anything left. But read it as given and it is in harmony with the life from beginning to end abounding with signs of superhuman knowledge and power.

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The effect of his resurrection on his disciples in transforming them from cowards before the authorities and people, to enthusiastic advocates of their crucified Leader, and in sending them out life-long preachers of him and his resurrection, to suffer martyrdom for him at last, was so sudden and powerful as to be a part of his wonderful victory over death. It is a significant part of the evidence of that victory. By it, the cause lost in Christ's death was regained in his resurrection, to go before the world with renewed force. That triuuphing cause at once became a witness of its Leader's resurrection and has continued so to this day. On the whole, Christ's resurrection gives the account its crowning power and glory.

The conclusion seems inevitable to an unprejudiced reading of the New Testament, that the being and life of Christ were superhuman and were set before the world to demonstrate the great purposes of his gospel. *George S. Weaver.*

Article VI.

Hymns as a Basis of Christian Union.

A true hymn I maintain is unsectarian. It is worshipful, addressed to the Lord. It appeals to imagination and faith, to memory and hope. It is a spiritual song that stirs the melody of the heart. It accords best with the sentiments of devotion. A good hymn has that largeness of scope which forbids it to be monopolized by any sect of religion, or any school of philosophy. It expresses qualities which belong to, are common to, all denominations. Sometimes these winged creatures of the spirit are sadly required to wear the yoke of narrow creeds and do the wearisome service of bigoted controversy; but this is not their nobler use. They are intended to unite all hearts in the same spirit of love, reverence and praise; to join all voices in the full chorus of resignation, gratitude and hope.

A noble hymn is permeated with the feeling of awe and trust, dedicated to the supreme source of wisdom, holiness, love,

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It so opens the unseen that the flesh seems transparent and the soul clairvoyant. The treasured hymns of the church have crystallized the trials and triumphs, the griefs and raptures of the deepest and holiest lives; they have given utterance to the intensely religious and subjective emotions; to the most inspiring and heavenly themes; to those rare experiences, so mellowed and enriched, that "Thy will be done" is not a sigh, but a song. The strains most kindred to the sacred poet, the thoughts to which his heart is most sensitive are those of forgiveness and charity, of exultant hope, of quenchless love, of dauntless trust, of victory mid sore defeat, of service done for Christ.

Good hymns are not of necessity the product of great poets. They have more often been composed by writers who lack the highest poetical genius. In very truth the finest art of the poet has seldom contributed any verse of real merit to the hymnody of the churches. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelly, Keats, Byron, Milton, have left very few hymns; they were not hymnists, had not that subtle, indefinable quality essential to a hymn-writer,—the faculty which can clothe with lyrical expression the mystical oracles of God. Writers that can catch up the hidden aspirations, doubts and hopes of a truly Christ-like life, the feelings of a God awakened soul and shape them into sufficiently rhythmical verse, hit upon what constitutes a long-lived hymn. There are hymns retained in our song books that are bad poetry and poor sentiment. Being there, associated with our worship, does not make them hymns. Stringing words into rhyme by poetasters is not the all-essential of a hymn. A helpful hymn not only requires a facility of versification and a rare lyric quality, but it has its source in a cheerful, reverent piety, in a trustful, devout love; in a lowly, Christ-like spirit, in a teachable, dutiful discipleship. Holiness and not dogma is the key-note for all worshipful hymns and in this I find the basis of Christian fellowship. I hazard this statement. In all churches the essence of Christianity is catholic, one and indivisible, one mid varying views; one fold with many flocks, to which all belong. Beneath the harshest dis-

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cords of opinion there may be a spirit of life which may join all in the sweetest concord. One music note, though in union with itself, cannot produce a magnificent song. That requires the harmony of many voices blending in one melodious strain. All the old sectatrian hymns should be, are being, discarded as pernicious and hurtful in their influence. Hymns that breathe the spirit and teach the lessons of Christian tolerance and loyalty should be, are being, hailed and cherished as beneficial and healthful.

Beddome has a good old union hymn worthy of our continual remenbrance. It may be found and will be retained in all collections. Though all know it, it serves my purpose to quote it:

Let party names no more
  The Christian world o'erspread;
Gentile and Jew and bond and free,
  Are one in Christ their head.

Among the saints on earth
  Let mutual love be found;
Heirs of the same inheritance
  With mutual blessings crowned.

Thus will the church below
  Resemble that above.
Where streams of endless pleasure flow,
  And every heart is love.

Rowland Hill wrote some verses of like import which deserve mention, called an Epitaph on Bigotry:

Here lies old Bigotry abhorred
By all that love our common Lord;
No more his influence shall prove
The torment of the sons of love.
We celebrate with holy mirth
This monster's death, of hellish birth.
Glory to God, we now are one
United to one Head alone;
With undivided hearts we praise
Our God for his uniting grace.

Doctrine is not a suitable theme for hymns; it makes poor poetry, especially if it be poor doctrine. Doctrine, if true is good, is indispensable, is vital; but it can be presented better in plain and pungent prose. It is not easily set to flowing music. Hymns are not and cannot be controversial essays.

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Such topics are not readily mellowed into genial and kindred fellowship. Hymns are emotional rather than logical, but emotion must not override truth. Arguments will be controverted, disputed, and are thus sources of division; the Christian spirit tends to union.

There is no evidence that the Bible ever intended to consolidate itself into formulas of doctrine. Creeds are but inferences from it and are of no more value than other inferences. Catechisms, councils, synods, excite turmoil when made a finality and set above character; when to doubt them is deemed fatal heresy and they assume to decide one's future destiny. The great teacher prescribed no articles of belief, founded no sect. He said, "Thou shalt love God, thou shalt love man." This done salvation and heaven follow. I select one example of doctrine, which will serve as well as all, to illustrate what I mean. I take the trinity. St. Ambrose attempted to state the trinity in song. Luther regarded it as an eminent success. It was much better done than the later trinitarian doxologies. I give it:

> "Thee, Father of all, Eternal Lord,
> Thee, Saviour, Son, the Incarnate Word,
> Thee, Comforter, Holy Spirit of love,
> Three on earth, one God above."

Gregory, like Ambrose, tried his hand at hymning the trinity, which is seldom undertaken by more recent hymnists. The prayer would be as effectual ascribed to one.

> "Let the Father and Son and the Holy Ghost,
> Mysterious three, whose grace faileth never,
> Unite our souls to the heavenly host
> Now and forever."

The sacred poets have realized how difficult is the task to apostrophize the trinity and preserve the feeling of filial reverence as when centred in one. The truth is the doctrine is not concordant with Christian worship and is dying out of theology. It may be well for scholars to study, but the people cannot understand it. It may have been of service in the religious life of the past, but it is useless for the life of today and hence it is seldom mentioned in the best hymns, or debated in the

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best sermons. It is the idea of unity which best accords with songs of worship. Unity is the one great, central thought of the age, the truth to which all science points. The religious quality of hymns implies the idea of unity, of harmony. They have one purpose in which all can agree. I maintain that the unity of God is a more poetic form in which to offer praise than any sacred trio, or treble partnership in the Godhead can be. All the old ascriptions to the triune God are unscriptural. All mere mathematical conceptions, the threeness and the oneness, are becoming obsolete. The strict unity of God is more naturally lauded and prized above that of tritheism. The simple unity of God alike in person, in power, in purpose, in benevolence, science is constantly helping to render more comprehensible in demonstrating the uniformity of law, of force, of course. This unity is hinted at in scripture, where Christ says: "I and my Father are one" (John 10 : 30.) What this oneness was he explains when he prays that his "disciples may be one in him and with each other as he is one with the Father. I in them and thou in me that they may be made perfect in one." (John 17 : 11.) "Nor do I pray for these alone, but for those who may believe on me through their teaching that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." (John 17 : 20, 21.) This oneness is community of interests and desires, unity in a common love, in good will, in a holy life.

The old creeds enter very slightly into the life of today. Their direct influence upon daily conduct is clearly diminishing. They may be rehearsed on Sunday, but they have little authority over conscience during the week. It was a grave mistake which assumed that Bible infallibility, trinity, vicarious atonement, limited probation and other kindred dogmas were established and lasting verities; that they were saving gospel truth and that all departure from them was doomed heresy. It is a forlorn hope that clings to them and fights liberalism. Those dogmas have done their work and are of no more use. The light they gave is not lost, but their darker features can no more hold the mind in gloom and slavery. Their authority is

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dwarfing, their theology is dying, the world can never again return to them.

But religion does not die in the decay of those dogmas. Its truths are more sacred and of diviner power than ever. These outgrown dogmas no longer threaten peril and disaster in this world and the next. They were not the only way of salvation. Religion could not be confined to their narrow and rigid limits. All iron creeds must be dethroned and spiritual freedom must come. Free thinking may be reckless in some instances, not always wise, and here and there lead to loose and shallow living, but it will produce no general shipwreck of faith. Like spring floods, it may do some damage, nevertheless the freshet heralds the summer; it is prophetic of growth and life; it proves that snow and ice are not eternal. The inspiring idea, the intuitive light of religion is our inner experience, deep, abiding and spiritual; our experience which reveals a realm higher and wider than the range of sense; which gathers a wisdom and love above the reach of the world; which speaks to the conscience with a voice as from the opening skies, and puts a watch and guardianship over character as from seraph eyes. Dogmatic theology, we cannot too soon realize, is not religion. Opinion is transient, the spirit is eternal; creeds change and fall into disrepute; graces of soul grow in esteem and vitality. Religion, pure and undefiled, survives the death of irrational beliefs; it illustrates the survival of the fittest. The religious consciousness of man's infinite relations and high duties gains in power and vitality while speculative dogmas weaken and expire.

That there will ever be entire unity of belief is not expected, it is not desirable. Opinions will differ, that is not harmful. The union to be craved is not in thinking, but in living; the union with Christ and all His disciples in the spirit of His prayer that they might be one. This is the union which all true hymns cherish and nourish. A hymn-book should not therefore be denominational in any narrow, exclusive sense. It should voice the finest, the broadest, richest Christian faith and experience of all communions, and at the same time should ex-

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clude all hymnal driftwood. In genuine hymns quite opposite poles of opinions may meet and unite. Divergent theories may blend in reverence and charity. Love and piety can hush all notes of discord. Spiritual Christianity is not scholastic, nor philosophic, nor rationalistic; it is the product of devout culture, of a submissive and obedient will.

The liberal faith has contributed its full proportion to the wealth of sacred song. Orthodox hymnals have drawn rich stores from writers whose theology was not apparent in their verse. Robert Robinson became a Unitarian, but you cannot say under what infiuences his finest verse was composed. Thomas Gill became Trinitarian, and we know his sweetest hymns antedate his change. Beddome, Fawcett, Gregg, and many others can be claimed by no sect, but belong to all in so far as holiness joins in one universal song. That admirable strain of triumphant faith,

"In the cross of Christ I glory,"

and that significant lyric,

"Watchman, tell us of the night,"

were composed by Bowring, a Unitarian, but they could not be repressed by the ban of the compilers, for the man and the truth were evangelical. Toplady, that rigid Calvinistic divine, is sung with the Arminian Wesley. He was the author of that marvellous hymn, "Rock of Ages," the pæon of orthodox piety, and yet could offer a beautiful tribute to that odious heretic, Dr. Priestly. His heart remained warm and tender, unchilled by the sternest theology. He supplements a letter to him, mostly filled with tart and sharp argument, with this glowing tribute, "Give me the person whom I can hold up, as I can a piece of crystal, and see through him. For this, among other excellences, I regard and admire Dr. Priestley." The good Dr. Doddridge, author of some of our sweetest hymns, founded an institution for education, for admission to which he imposed no creed test. Though he was a stanch dissenter, he has secured a voice in the Episcopal choir, and who can tell as he is sung to day whether he stood for conformity or non-conformity? The Catholic Faber does not disclaim the companionship of the

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hated Protestant Luther, for his song lifts all hearts, like the notes of the lark, to the far-off sky. Voices of praise, of every name, blend with saints Bennard and Francies Xavier. All sects plead with Newman,

"Lead, kindly light,"

and care not for his cardinal cap. We pray with Sarah F. Adams, the Unitarian,

"Nearer, my God, to Thee."

She was given a place in all hymnals, in spite of her despised theism, because she expresses the deepest aspirations and the most urgent needs of all God-seeking souls. We sing with Miss Cary, and are not at all troubled that she was a Universalist, her words of comfort and cheer:

"Our Father, when beside the tomb
We mourn the unconscious dead below,
Thy angels come amid the gloom
With solace for our doubt and woe.
And, looking through the shades of death,
To that bright land where none can die,
How clearly then the eye of faith
Beholds the portals of the sky."

This sweet and truthful vision of death has brought the courage of faith to many an anxious, longing and fearful breast. H. Ballou, 2d, H. Bacon, E. H. Chapin, J. G. Adams, and others, have sung an honored part in the choir universal. Their hymns do not lack the glow and ardor of the evangelical unction. They are admirable in point of metre and language, of fine and devout feeling. Watts was, for a time, evangelical, but, like Milton, with the years came to renounce trinitarianism. Who can tell how much his hymns, so fervent with piety, did in making this change? His popular hymns show no sign of his theological opinions. The Methodists do not own Wesley, nor the Lutherans Luther, nor the Moravians Montgomery. They belong to all churches, and soar above all sectarian walls. No strait-laced council has any exclusive monopoly over any hymn whose language has grown into the heart of Christendom, and has done service for centuries in worshipping congregations. No barrier can impede the circulation of Christian sympathy; it flows out into all communions. The singers

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among the liberal saints are adopted by all who have fellowship with light, truth and love. Creeds are inharmonious, they cannot be made concordant. The spirit has its kin in every household of faith. All church doors are open to those hymns that cannot be forgotten. As in Jacob's vision, so in many a hymn, typical of high Christian culture, we clearly discern angel forms descending and ascending between heaven and earth. Hymns that draw us into communion with God and Christ float across continents, over oceans, down centuries and generations, and anchor and live among all nations and all sects; they enter into all hymnals and are sung side by side by all peoples. As the songs of the Jewish Psalmist blend with the worship of all temples, so the voices of all Christian seers that exhale hope, faith and charity reach the hearts of all believers. We cannot be too thankful that we unite most naturally, not in dogma, but in worship. Articles of belief have narrow boundaries. Love, joy, holiness, peace, have a fellowship that wings us to the gates of heaven. Dogma can borrow no such ascension robes. Who cares what was the composer's creed of any noble hymn? A living religion can best be sung. Its songs will live when all polemical lines are forever obliterated. The many controversial and declamatory hymns of Wesley, in which he berated the Calvinists, anathematized what he deemed false doctrine, denounced the formalist churchman and the dead church, and defended the trinity, have disappeared; but his hymns of filial love, of broad sympathy, of tender entreaty and ardent supplication last on from age to age. They die not from man's remembrance. Hymns, inspired by the Christ-spirit, that the people learn to love and become popular; that fasten and cling to the memory and the heart, will live till the death of time; will be sung over and over in all future worshipping assemblies, and for aught I know in the vast eternity to come. The verse of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, after fifteen centuries, are as sweet and sacred as when first voiced. At the altar of God, in any section of Christ's disciples, songs of hope and mercy, trust and grace ring out their eternal anthem.

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We accept a hymn, not for its sectarian, but its religious qualities, its broad, vast faith. We discard those which cramp and distort the free gush of holy song. Lyric poetry cannot be fashioned out of barbarous, medieval dogmas. Faith, reverence, gratitude, duty, prayer, praise, form the rhthym of sacred music. Any church would be greatly impoverished by casting from its pale any glorious old hymn born in any part of Christendom. We best enrich our hymnals, insure their highest merit, by gathering up the select songs from all the flocks and followers of Christ. We compile hymns to quicken praise and devout living, and the author's belief little concerns us. We most effectually disseminate Christian faith and love, not by critical exegeis, but by singing its divine truths into the human heart. We get nearest the universal truth as we join in the liturgies, anthems, glorias, Te Deums, bequeathed to us from congregations long since ascended.

We read that Christ sung with his disciples. That hymn takes us back to ancient days: if we knew the words they selected for that parting season we would read and sing them with transfixed attention and hallowing awe.

Hymns chanted morn and eve about family altars are sacred with the age of time-memorial service. Lines endeared by long use have interpreted the book of life, reported the varied experience of the years. Truth after truth has dawned upon the gaze they directed Godward. On their wing thought has soared far above the bustling, eager, care-wearying world. Hymns have vined themselved around our inmost associations and aspirations, and covered them with their fadeless green. They are the precious jewels of the revered past, treasured and kept as charmed remembrances and amulets, and have become a more potent enchantress to ward off evil and trouble than any diviner's wand. Down through these old hymns the pious current of the church has flowed; they incarnate its inmost prayers, nourish hopes that have blossomed out of desolate hearts, illumine the darkest hours with an unseen light, beget a faith that looks beyond the tears of death and beholds the mount where the mortal is translated into the immortal. Patri-

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etic hymns have nerved and fired the conscience and heart of the nation. Says one, "The civil war could not have been fought to its successful issue but for the deep and divine emotions which found verbal expression in such verse as the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." The religion in that hymn sung from camp to camp and on the doubtful march, enabled our arms to endure and to conquer. Who knows how hymns of promise have fortified and upheld persecuted and tried souls and kept them steadfast and loyal to truth and Christ? The crusaders were cheered and encouraged in their long and weary march by singing hymns. The Huguenot, the Covenanter, the Puritan, exiled from home and country, saw their dreary lot transformed into blessings all disguised to sense, by thankful praise. The anchorite in his lonely cell sang his favorite hymns, and was soothed with a communion not of earth. The heretic imprisoned, buried in his living tomb, by holy song was transported to a domain of spiritual glory and freedom beyond the tyrants' reign. The martyr, uplifted by an inspiring hymn, seemed not to feel the scorching flame of the devouring flame. The timid believer, made brave by spirited song, could defy armies and mobs. There is no privation, no sorrow of earth these hallowed hymns cannot solace and comfort: no hour of dismay they cannot cheer; no torture of the sensitive flesh they cannot embalm as if made well; no dying scene they cannot illume with the blessedness and peace of heaven.

Thomas S. Lathrop.

Article VII.

The Public School Essential to American Institutions.

Every living, organized body posseses some elements that are vital to its existence, and others that are only incidental to its organism. A body could continue to live without the latter, but not without the former. Incidental things may help to

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give the body comeliness and beauty, and even add to its usefulness; but it depends for its existence upon those that are vital. The human organism can exist without hands or feet, but not without a heart, nor without blood. Hands and feet help to complete the comeliness of the body and add to its usefulness, but they are not vital to its life; the heart, the lungs, and the spinal column, on the other hand, are essential to its very existence as a living body.

The American Republic is a great organized body of living forces. Its growth and development for a hundred years have been along a certain specific line. Among the political bodies of the world it holds a unique position. Its form of organization is based upon certain truths and principles that are not so prominently recognized by any other nation of the earth. Like the human body, there are elements connected with it that are only incidental to its development, but without which it could continue to exist, and there are others that are vital to its very existence. The one basal principle upon which the American government and our free institutions are founded, is the right and duty of self-government. That this fundamental idea of our Declaration of Independence may be developed to a successful issue here on this continent, certain things are essential; there are a few elements in the organization of this great body that are vital to its continued existence. It is the purpose of this paper to consider one of them, viz., the public school. To more clearly express our thought on this subject, we will arrange under several specific heads the reasons why we believe the public school to be essential to American institutions.

First, because of the social advantages it affords. One of the foundation stones upon which our national structure is built, is that of social equality. In theory, if not in actual practice, we recognize no class distinctions in this country. Unlike the social order of the old world, we know nothing of inherited rights or privileges. In this, as in every other phase of our national life, we are strictly democratic. With this ideal as our basis, we commenced a hundred years ago; along this

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line we have developed into one of the mighty nations of the earth; and only by strict fidelity to this ideal in the future, can we hope to advance in that direction which shall be at once our strength and our glory. That this principle of social equality may be maintained, it is absolutely necessary that the children and youth of our land shall be educated in harmony with this idea; and the public school system furnishes the best possible means of doing this. Through its agency the children of all classes and conditions are brought together; are made acquainted with each other, and learn to respect each other's social rights. It is of the utmost importance that people of all nationalities—thrown together as they are in this country—should know each other. The public school gives the children of all races the opportunity of mingling together, under the most favorable conditions. There is much significance in the term "common school," for it brings the children upon a common basis of instruction; places them upon a common level; and shows them that they have important interests in common.

The education of children in private schools or by private instructors, is not in harmony with American ideas. It deprives the children of that social contact with others, in a public way, in the formative period of their lives; and there is great danger that race and class prejudices will be fostered by such separation. Parochial and private schools may do well enough in those countries where social equality is neither sought nor desired; but they are all out of place on American soil. For a certain number of years, each child should be required to attend the public school, no matter how much training may afterwards be given in special branches in schools of a private nature. No child reared in this land, where each has an equal chance with every other in the race of life, can afford to grow up without the social advantages which the common schools will surely give him.

Second, because it aids in training loyal citizens. True citizenship in this country, involves a certain amount of mental training. A government like ours, which Mr. Lincoln characterized as "of the people, by the people, and for the people,"

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rests upon the intelligence of that people. Republics are not built on ignorance. Self-government requires a power in the individual which only a liberal culture of all his powers will give him. That this self-controlling power may be universally diffused among the people, a universal system of education must be adopted. The public school exactly meets the requirement. Not that it is yet perfect, in organization or operation. Like all human instruments, it is subject to improvement. But the principle upon which it is founded is the correct one. The ideal which the true friends of this system have in view is the true one; and gradually we are approaching this ideal, by practical demonstration. The intention is that every child shall have an opportunity to enjoy the benefits of a liberal education. The children of the poor have an equal chance with those of the rich. The humblest boy stands as good a chance for honors and promotions as does the son of the rich and influential. There is no monopoly of educational privileges by any favored few.

The perpetuity of American institutions depends upon intelligent voting. The ballot is the controlling power in this country. It is an instrument upon whose wise use hangs the destiny of the republic; and it can be wisely and safely used only in the hands of intelligent citizens. It is one of the chief offices of the public school to put our children and youth in the way of acquiring a knowledge of facts and principles which all citizens ought to know; a knowledge without which they cannot discharge aright the sacred duties of freemen. The universal diffusion of knowledge which it affords,—the impartial distribution of its benefits and privileges—the intellectual levelling-up among the masses which it produces, all conspire to make the public school one of the mightiest agencies in training loyal citizens, who, in peace as well as in war, will valiantly defend the government which protects them in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Third, because it fosters the true spirit of liberty. The very atmosphere of the public school room is charged with the spirit of freedom; and yet, it is so well tempered with wholesome re-

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straints, that the true balance between liberty and law is well preserved. The government of our public schools is the best model of our free institutions. Aside from the stimulating effect of the instruction given, there is an educating process constantly going on in the mind of the pupil, teaching him the true relation he is to hold to the commonwealth. In schools of a private nature it is impossible for a child to receive those broad and comprehensive ideas that are imparted in the public school. The rich and poor are not likely to be brought together on the same footing. But in the public school the rich man's son has no more advantages than has the son of the poor man. The fact of his belonging to a wealthy family gives him no better opportunities than are afforded to the children of the poorest. He soon recognizes this fact, and learns that the same liberty is accorded to all. He is brought into a sharper competition with his fellow students than a private school would be likely to furnish him; and he often finds his most formidable competitors among the poor and humble classes. He is therefore compelled to recognize the claims of all, whether from the higher or the humbler walks of life. He learns to respect intellectual and moral worth wherever he finds it, and soon gets accustomed to familiar associations with those whom the aristocracy of wealth would entirely ignore. The true spirit of liberty which he thus breathes in every day, teaches him that all are born free and equal, and have certain inalienable rights which all others are bound to respect.

The influence of the instruction given in our public schools is all conducive to the development of true independence. The study and discipline which the school makes necessary, operate as a stimulus to intellectual and moral growth. They have a direct bearing on those elements of character which produce sterling manhood,—which result in the best type of American citizenship. That one branch of instruction which gives each boy and girl a clear knowledge of their country's growth and development, is in itself a mighty force in fostering the spirit of liberty among the people; and shall not that institution which places the history of the United States in the hands of

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every youth who will study it, be buttressed and strengthened by all the forces which loyal citizens can command?

What is the true spirit of liberty? We will answer by quoting the words of one of the foremost educators of our land, President Gates, of Rutgers College, who says:

"Liberty is not the absence of all restraint. It does not make all things possible to him who has it. Will a man complain of the lack of liberty because he cannot *fly?* He was not made to fly—the laws of his own being restrain him. Liberty is consistent, then, with laws that are fixed and inflexible. Such fundamental laws of one's being we sometimes call the 'constitution of man.' As personal freedom is possible while the laws of one's being, of one's constitution hold full sway, so political freedom does not demand the abrogation of law. Liberty is not to be attained by rendering governments powerless. It is only the savage, the utter barbarian, who looks at the laws which maintain civilized society as trenching on liberty. Nay, further, liberty cannot by any possibility be maintained, save by obedience to law. The free state is the state where liberty has become institutional, where restraints upon wrong and unjust actions are steady and constant, in law, in custom and in public opinion. Is not the free man he who voluntarily yields intelligent obedience to righteous laws? In the State where ideally perfect liberty should prevail, there would be no disappearance of law and no suspension of law. Physical laws will hold good. Liberty does not mean superiority to the law of gravitation. The laws of hygiene will hold good. Can a majority vote make bad drainage healthful? Will a plebiscite banish cholera or yellow fever, or preserve from the ravages of small-pox, however free the state, those ignorant people who vote to have no vaccination? Moral laws, too, will hold good —must hold good in the ideally free State. God is not mocked, no matter what may be the majority for evil! Justice and righteousness are the constitutional limitations of the rights of the majority, as certainly as are the physical laws which prevent men from flying. Men never had the right to do deeds of injustice or immorality. The individual and the majority are alike restrained by moral laws. However free the State, however popular the form of government, the majority has a right to do what it pleases only when it pleases to do what is right!"

The teaching and influence that come from our public schools are helping the youth of our land to interpret liberty in the

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light of such sound principles as are here set forth. When this high ideal of liberty is attained, we need have no fear from tyranny on the one hand, or anarchy on the other. Only by the universal diffusion of knowledge, such as flows from the public school, can we hope to educate the people into the true spirit of liberty, and inspire them to maintain this priceless boon which has been purchased at such a tremendous cost.

Fourth, because it makes education a matter of public and universal concern. While the influence of the public school upon the mind of the pupil is healthful beyond estimate, yet the reflex influence upon the public at large is still greater. The very fact that the State is engaged in educating its own children, lends added interest to the whole subject of education. Each citizen becomes an active participant in the work, and learns to feel that the matter is to him of vital concern. Comparatively few, except those who have children to educate, become deeply interested in private or local institutions of learning. In the nature of the case their constituency will be limited to certain interested persons and classes. They appeal largely to those who are to derive some immediate benefit from them, or those who become interested in them from personal considerations. But the public schools enlist the interest and co-operation of all. As all have equal part in the burdens which her maintenance imposes, so all have equal share in the benefits which they confer. Men who have no children of their own to educate are taxed for the support of the public school; they therefore become interested in its work, and learn to realize that the education which their neighbors' children are enabled to receive thereby, is a direct advantage to themselves. The tendency is to make education a matter of public concern, —taking it out of merely private and local connections, and placing it upon a broad and liberal basis.

The parochial school system, aside from the religious questions involved, is narrow in its conception, exclusive in its operation, and partial in its influence. As a substitute for the public school, it is a dismal failure; and some of the most intelligent Catholics in this country are sadly realizing this fact.

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The whole idea is out of harmony with the spirit of the age. In its influence and tendency it runs counter to the genius of American institutions. It stands directly opposed to that broad, free, above-board manner of dealing, which is the pride and the glory of a liberty-loving people like our own. The entire system, by whomsoever upheld, ought to be out-lawed in every state in the Union, and relegated to the lands of political narrowness, social inequality, and religious intolerance, from which it sprung.

Fifth, because the public school stands upon the principle of entire separation of church and state. The foundations of the United States government were laid upon this broad corner-stone. The success of this form of government thus far has been largely due to the maintenance of this fundamental principle. That this same foundation may continue unmolested in the years to come, it is necessary that the children and youth of each succeeding generation shall have the true American spirit instilled into them; and in no other way can this be done so surely and effectively as in the public school. It would be a significant and inspiring sight. could we see the "stars and stripes" floating over every public school building in our land. It would be like saying to all who are attempting to introduce non-American ideas into our educational system, "hands off." It would stand as a perpetual warning to all ecclesiastical powers at Rome or elsewhere—not to attempt the control of our schools in the interests of any church in Christendom.

So far as the religious and moral instruction of their children are concerned, under proper auspices, we have no controversy with our Roman Catholic friends. They have the same rights and privileges in this country, as a religious body, as all others, and no more. Whatever they see fit to teach in church, Sunday-school, or home, they have full liberty to do, and no one can lawfully interfere with them. In this respect they stand on an equal footing with all other religious bodies. But it is a notorious fact that they are not satisfied with this privilege. Among all the religious sects in this country, this is the only one that attempts to dictate in regard to our civil institutions.

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It is the only church that is trying to re-establish in this country a union of church and state. And so we are brought into direct conflict with this church in defending our public school system. It is pertinent to ask why this particular religious body is the open and avowed enemy of our public schools? The answer is easy to find. It is because that church is founded on the old idea that the church and the state are one, and furthermore, that the church is the primary and controlling power. The Roman Catholic theory is that all teaching and instruction—both secular and religious—shall be given by the church; that is, the priesthood. With them secular and civil affairs are as much a part of their system of education as the moral and religious. The church in this country derives all its authority from Rome. Its seat of power is not in the United States, nor in any other English-speaking country. The source from which it derives all its instructions is as non-American as anything that can be imagined. The man who is its infallible head cares nothing for American institutions, only as he can make them subservient to the welfare of the church which he controls. His word is absolute authority throughout the length and breadth of the entire body. From it there is no appeal; and if the fiat which goes forth from the Vatican chances to be in opposition to the civil laws and government under which any of his subjects are living, that is to be obeyed at all hazards, regardless of the secular and civil laws of the land.

Now, in view of these facts, what could we expect would be the attitude of this church toward our public school system? How can the priesthood logically do anything else but oppose it? Yea, how can they maintain their position and be loyal to the Pope, and do anything else? Say what we will to the contrary, there is an irreconcilable conflict between our public school system and the Roman Catholic church. However much some of our good friends of that church may wish it otherwise, there is no denying these plain facts. Protest as much as they please against it, the solemn truth stares them in the face, that the parochial school is a natural outcome of the doctrines of their church. And it does not seem plain to us how

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an honest Catholic can oppose the parochial school and still stand loyal to his church.

But leaving all such matters to the consciences and judgment of those most nearly concerned, we desire to re-affirm what we have already so strongly urged, viz.: that the destiny of American institutions, and the destiny of our public school system are linked together by an indissoluble bond. The destruction of one means the ultimate extinction of the other. They spring from the same root; they grow in the same soil; they are nourished by the same elements and forces, and therefore are "one and inseparable." Says Felix Adler in the October "Century:"

"What strikes every one on considering the American common school, is its inclusiveness. The multitude pour through its portals; all citizens are alike invited to share its benefits; it is plainly the fruit of institutions based on the assumption that all men are equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

It is impossible to place too strong an emphasis on the importance of maintaining our public school system, and preserving it against the encroachments of its enemies, from whatever quarter they may arise. It is the duty of every loyal American citizen to stand up in defence of every safeguard of the Republic, and certainly our experience has shown that no element of our national life is more essential than the public school. If we are to have a free and independent state in the future, we must not commit political and social suicide, by cutting off the very source of supply from which a true commonwealth is built up. As the Boston "Committee of One Hundred" has well stated it:

"What is the state? A branch or servant of the church? No. It is a living organism, independent and complete in itself, with God-given life, as much so as is the church or the individual. And it is the right and duty of the state to see that all proper means are taken to preserve and perpetuate its life, as much as it is the right and duty of the individual thus to preserve his life. If the state neglects to do this, it fails to

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fulfil its mission and the divine purpose concerning it, and deserves to die. It becomes, therefore, the solemn and imperative duty of the state to see that every child within its bounds receives an education that will fit it to become a useful member of the state itself. . . . If America is to be perpetuated as a nation of free men and free institutions, then she must herself see that the education fitting for good citizenship is given to the youth in her own schools, free from all sectarian interference and control, or in schools subject to state inspection and supervision."

What the spinal column is to the human organism, the public school is to the State. Not only the growth and development of the body, but its very life depends upon this conservator of vital force. Whatever interferes with its healthy action, disturbs its natural functions, or depletes its energies, is striking at the vulnerable point in our national life. Because of the social advantages it affords to all classes of our children and youth; because of the aid it furnishes in training loyal citizens; because of the true spirit of liberty it fosters; because of the public and universal interest it awakens in education, and because it stands committed to the entire separation of church and state, and therefore for all these reasons because an essential factor in the success of American institutions, the public school should be maintained, at whatever cost. Without it, our nation can have no worthy or desirable future; but with it, all things possible to a free and enlightened people are subject to our command. *S. P. Smith.*

Article VIII.

The Abyss, or Chaos, of the Ancient Cosmogonies.[1]

PART I.

In the most ancient systems of cosmogony, with the exception of the Mosaic, the chaos, so-termed, or the primordial ocean, was conceived as the absolute First-Principle; as the

[1] This valuable paper, which for convenience is divided, the second Part to appear in April, is sent to the QUARTERLY by the widow of the author.—EDITOR.

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Ground of all existence; as the Primal Deity. It was from these primeval waters that the heaven and earth were believed to have been formed. In the creative process, the first act was the separation of chaos into two portions, the heaven being formed from one, the earth from the other. But the *creation* was also, in some sense, a *generation;* hence this fountain of all birth, and the primordial abyss, was naturally conceived as an androgynous Divinity, resuming in himself both the male and the female principles. On the separation of chaos, these two principles became in a measure distinct, the male principle being identified with the heavens and the female with the earth. The two then constituted the primitive couple, the Heaven-father and the Earth-mother; from whose union the birth of the world and of man took place. It appears to have been an exception, however, in the Egyptian cosmogony, that the earth was considered as male, and the heaven as female; but of this again.

The foregoing statements might be abundantly verified by the authorities among whom, in fact, they are usually held as the ground ideas of the ancient cosmogonies, always excepting the Mosaic. Now while these notions are sufficiently correct, they are still somewhat vague, as respects especially the nature of the Primal Deity, identified with the original chaos, with reference to whom in other respects, very erroneous ideas have usually prevailed among modern authors. That in which these authors are most fundamentally at fault, as regards this chaos, the conceived First-Principle of the ancient systems, is the supposition of its exclusively materialistic nature. It is true that, in these cosmogonies, matter was held to be uncreated, to be eternal; but such also was mind or spirit. Thus, the eternity of mind and matter, these existing in perpetual union, was an idea fundamental in the conception of the primal chaos, from which the All had its birth. The chief differences, in fact, between the chaos of the heathen cosmogonies and that of the Mosaic systems as usually interpreted, consist in the facts: 1st. That writers have abstracted from the *tehom*, or abyss of Genesis, the mind or spirit which the Pagans conceived as eternally

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united with the material, watery element. 2nd. This mind or spirit has been then assumed as alone eternal, and as creating *ex nihilo*, the material substances which the Pagans regarded as also eternal. 3d. These writers, finally, having abstracted from the chaos of Genesis, all spiritual and intelligent attributes, have then attributed them to the Pagan systems, thus converting them into the grossest materialism and atheism. Of course, these being the facts, nothing could be more fatal to a correct apprehension of the heathen cosmogonies, nor more unjust to the ancient sages who promulgated them. There are other important particulars, in which the chaos of Pagan systems has been greatly misconceived; and hence the necessity, in the interest of science, of a critical investigation of the abundant materials, which modern research has now placed at our command, bearing directly upon this subject. Such an investigation is all the more important, since the more ancient cosmogonies constituted the basis of their respective theogonies. Not only this, the facts developed in the course of our researches will tend powerfully to demonstrate the existence in the most primitive times, of high and noble ideas, which could have been the product only of an advanced civilization and culture, instead of a state of ignorance and savagism. To accomplish these results will require the space of two or three articles, of which the present will constitute the first of the series. With these remarks, we proceed directly with the subject proposed.

The Egyptian cosmogony, considering its great antiquity, its profound and elaborate character, as well as the influence it must have exerted in the formation of later systems, naturally demands our first attention; although, as will be understood, the investigation limits itself to the Egyptian doctrine of the primal chaos. We shall find that this chaos was regarded:

1. As an androgynous Divinity; or as the resumption in one of the male principle *Nu*, and the female principle *Nu-t*, the last being only the feminine form of the male element.

2. While the male principle, otherwise called *Seb*, represented the *material element*, the female principle was actually a *personification of wisdom*, and thus of the *spiritual element*.

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3. The conceived location of the primordial abyss or chaos was not, originally, *upon the earth*, but *in the heaven ;* it being regarded as the *celestial ocean*, and iden.ified with the sky.

Keeping these three points distinctly in mind, it will be found that they are fully substantiated, by the extracts from distinguished Egyptologists which follow. Respecting the Egyptian notions of the origin of things, M. Mariette-Bey observes:—

"Anterior to all that exists is *Nu-t*, the biblical abyss; below *Nu-t* is placed *Chnuphis*, the divine breath, he who fabricates himself the mother generatrix of the gods; *Seb* (or *Nu*) is the material with the germs of life, which she hides in her bosom; while in the celestial spaces, from the sides of *Nu-t*, issues the good *Ra*, the Sun-god; and with him commences the *Light;* that is to say, the *Life of Man*. *Osiris*, finally, more ancient than *Ra* himself, is the nocturnal Sun" (Sun of the primordial night).[2]

In this extract, *Nu-t* appears as First principle, anterior to all that exists; and she is identified with the chaos of the Mosaic cosmogony. At the same time she must be assimilated to the sky, for it is "in the celestial spaces, from the sides of *Nu-t*," that Ra, the Sun-god, is born; that is to say, he rises in the Eastern horizon. *Seb*, the husband of *Nu-t*, and one with *Nu*, represents the material, in which are the germs of life. Ordinarily, *Seb* is put for the earth, but as Mariette remarks again; "He is taken also for the chaotic material; and then he is the husband of *Nu-t*, the biblical abyss."[3] That the heaven, with which Nu-t was assimilated, was regarded as a celestial sea, is proved by many passages. For example, one referring to Osiris; "Thy transformations are equal to those of the celestial ocean."[4] So M. E. de Rougé remarks: "The celestial personage who represents the earth, the cosmical god *par excellence* is Seb, father of Osiris. His wife, Nu-t, is no other than the celestial vault."[5] In this and the preceding extract, the heaven is characterized alternately as the celestial vault and the celestial ocean; in both cases iden-

[2] Musee de Boulag, etc., pp. 20, 21. [4] Ibid, p. 85.

[3] Ibid, p. 139. [5] Norns Egyptieans des Planetes, p. 21.

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tified with Nu-t. Directly to our purpose, also, is the statement of M. Eng. Leffébure: "The Sun, in the Egyptian Theogony, is born of the goddess Nu-t, the celestial waters; the same as with the Greeks, he issues from Oceanus."[6] To the same effect is the language of Dr. R. Lepsius:

"The group *Nun* (or *Nu*), of which I have already extensively treated, and which, in the times of the Ptolemies, denoted the simple element water, signified originally the *watery chaos*, and in the Coptic the term *Nun* corresponds to the Greek ἄβυσσος, in the account of the creation. Out of Nun, or the chaos, originated the god *Ra*."[7]

The connection of Nun with the biblical abyss, already asserted by Mariette, is here confirmed by Lepsius. For the birth of Ra, the Sun-god, from Nun, identifies this personage with Nu-t, the celestial ocean, from whom the solar deity takes his origin, according to both Leffébure and Mariette. Again, M. J. de Rougé remarks, relative to the celestial space: "This space was supposed to be liquid: it became then the abyss, the Egyptian Nun; and it was considered male and female."[8] The same authority gives the names of the elementary deities in pairs, as follows: 1st. *Amen* and *Amens*, the mystery. 2d. *Nu* and *Nu-t*, the celestial abyss, the primordial sea, the *urstoff* of the Germans."[9] The identification of Nu and Nu-t, as one androgynous Divinity, and with the celestial vault, regarded as the primordial ocean, is most explicitly stated in the two extracts from J. de Rougé. We see here, also, that *Seb*, as husband of *Nu-t*, was not put for the earth, as usual, but was one with *Nu*, who, with *Nu-t*, represented the celestial ocean. But more detailed and formal, respecting the Primal Deity of the Egyptians, is the subjoined passage from M. G. Maspero:

"At the commencement was *Nu*, the primordial ocean, in the profound and infinite depths of which floated confusedly the germs of things. From all eternity God engendered and gave birth to himself, in the bosom of this liquid mass, yet without form or usage. This God of the Egyptians was One Sole Being, perfect, endowed with a *science and with a certain*

[6] Le Myth Osirien. Pt. 1, pp. 60, 61. [7] Götter des vier Elements, p. 106.
[8] Melanges D'Arch Egypt et Assyr. T. i. Fasc 2. p. 71. [9] Ibid. Fasc 3, p. 102.

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intelligence, incomprehensible, in the respect that one is not able to say in what he is incomprehensible. He is the Sole One, who lives in substance; the sole generator in heaven and upon the earth, who is not engendered himself; the Father of fathers and the Mother of mothers." [10]

The absolute eternity of mind and matter, as the one androgynous Divininy, and as the primordial abyss, is here set forth as the First-principle. The foregoing statement seems carefully considered, and it may be thus adopted as a critical exposition of Egyptian doctrines, by one of the most distinguished of recent Egyptologists. But to confirm M. Maspero's statements, especially as regards the attributes of mind or intelligence, we quote now from M. Ed. Naville, who has the following relative to Seb and Nu-t:

"Nu-t, the superior heaven, is, then, for the Egyptians, the personification of *wisdom*, or at least of *intelligence;* and this notion was subsequently maintained, because we find it in the Book of Hemes thus expressed: 'The intelligible essence directs the heaven, the heaven directs the gods.' Seb and Nu-t the male and female principles, are given as the parents of nearly all the gods." "Nu-t represents the female generative principle; she is the most ancient Mother in the order of the gods, just as Seb (or *Nu*) is the most ancient Father; at the same time, it is very evident that she is the heaven, as proved by numerous astronomical bas-reliefs of the tombs and temples. If the Egyptians had already attributed *wisdom* to her, it is not strange that the Greeks called her Athena." [11]

Thus the union of mind and matter in the conception of the Primal Deity, identified with the celestial space, regarded as the original watery chaos, is here again affirmed in the most explicit terms; and it may be considered, therefore, as fundamental in the Egyptian cosmogony. We conclude these extracts now, in the language of M. Eng Grébaut:

"In this primordial character, *Neith*, or *Nu-t* is the feminine form of *Nu*, and the abyss, the father of the gods. Before his issue from the primordial waters, under the form of the Sun, God confounded himself with space, where he reposed. This

[10] Historie ancienne, p. 27. [11] La Litanie du Soleil, pp. 36, 37. Notes.

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space, from whence proceed all the divine manifestations, is the father or mother of the gods, Nu or Nu-t." [12]

The foregoing extracts, from distinguished Egyptologists, will be deemed abundant proof of the three points of Egyptian doctrine, already formulated. The primordial abyss or ocean was conceived: 1st. As an androgynous Divinity, the First-principle of things. 2d. It was regarded as the eternal union in one of mind and matter; wisdom being personified by the female principle, or the goddess Nu-t. 3d. The conceived location of this primeval ocean was in the heaven; it being identified with the celestial spaces or the sky.

In view of these facts so well established, the essentially erroneous nature of the ideas often put forth by writers, relative to the chaos of the ancient cosmogonies, will be readily recognized. The gross materialism usually attributed to these systems, so far at least as concerns the Egyptian doctrines, will be seen to be wholly a misconception, involving a great injustice to the ancient sages of the Nile valley.

But next to the Egyptian cosmognomy, in respect to its antiquity, if not fully equal to it, was that of the Babylonians, which we proceed now to consider, with special reference to the doctrines concerning the chaos. Our first appeal for information will be to the cuneiform texts, which abound with references to this particular subject. A notable instance of such references occurs, in the first fragment of the "Creation Tablets," discovered by Mr. Geo. Smith. As rendered by him, this text opens as follows:

"When above, were not raised the heavens;
And below on earth, a planet had not grown up;
The *Abyss* also had not broken open their boundaries;
The *Chaos* (or water) *Tiarnat* (the sea) was the producing mother of all of them." [13]

The term "Abyss" in the third line above, has in the original the Accadian *zu-ab*, properly read *ab-zu*, from which comes the Assyrian *Ap-su*. The notions attached to this word will be found nearly identical with those of the Egyptians, concern

[12] Melanges D'Arch Egypt, et Assyr. T. i. Fasc. 2 p. 252.

[13] Chaldäeun Genesis, p. 62.

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ing Nu and Nu-t, representing the primordial sea. The term "Chaos" in the fourth line, has the Assyrian *mummu* in the original, and it corresponds to the *Tehom* of the Mosaic account of creation. Mr. Smith's version of the whole passage, as it was the first ever attempted, presents some defects; and it has been much improved by later hands. We give here the Assyrian Text, followed by a version based on those by Talbot, Boscawen, Lenormant, and others:

"*Enurna elish la nabu sarnarua;*
Siplish ina Kita suma la zaknat;
Zu-ab-ma la patu zaru-sun:
Mummu tisallat muallidat gimri-sun.

When above, the heaven was not proclaimed,
And below on earth, its name was not spoken;
And the Abyss, their Father, was not opened;
The Chaos Tisallat, was their producing mother."

As M. Lenormant observes, following the opinion of M. Oppert, the term *zaru*, in the third line of the Text, involves the notion of *male generation*, hence that of Father, applied to the ap-su, or the abyss. At the same time the word *muallidat*, in the fourth line, involves the uotion of *female generation*, applied to *mummu Tisallat*, or the "Chaos Tisallat," considered as the all-producing mother."[14] Thus the male and female principles, to be compared to Nu and Nu-t in the Egyptian cosmogony, are brought into distinct view, in the Babylonian conception of the primal chaos. But it is necessary to devote here a more particular study of the nature of the ap-su, on the abyss of the inscriptions.

Until recently, Assyriologists were accustomed to regard the ap-su as something wholly materialistic in its character, like the Greek Oceanus. But Mr. Boscawen has shown that this view is quite erroneous. His analysis of the ideas involved in the term is the following:

"*Ap-su* or *Ab-su* is a Semitic form of the Accadian group *Zu-ab*. . . . The first element of this word, therefore, is *zu*, which is an idiograph explained by the Assyrian *idu*, 'knowledge;' and the second element, *ab*, is explained by *Kab-tu*, 'deep;' it is also applied to house, in the sense of

[14] See the Academy, London, July 19, 1878, p. 14.

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'hollow place.' Hence the whole group *zu-ab* means 'deep knewledge,' or 'wisdom.' The conception of this *ab-su* was that of an essence which was wisdom."[15]

Dr. Deleitzsch, also attaches to the term *ap-su* the sense of "The house of wisdom," or: "The seat of unfathomable knowledge."[16] But involved in the *ap-su* was also the material, watery element. The proofs of this are very abundant. For instance, in the "Deluge Tablets" (Col. 1, l. 27), the ship of Khasis-atra, the Babylonian Noah, is said to be launched upon the *ap-su*, a proof that in the conception of the abyss, a watery element was united to that of deep wisdom or knowledge. The absolute union of mind and matter, therefore, in the Babylonian notion of the primordial ocean, admits of no serious question.

It remains now to find the original locality of the abyss or ap-su, in order to which it will be necessary to refer to the divinities representing it. Among these, it seems that we have preëminently the god *Anu* and his wife *Anatu.*

"At the head of the Babylonian mythology," says Mr. Geo. Smith, "stands a deity who was sometimes identified with the heavens, sometimes considered the ruler and god of heaven. This deity is named *Anu*; his sign is the simple star, the symbol of divinity. . . . Anu represents abstract divinity, and he appears an original principle, perhaps the original principle of nature. He represents the universe as the upper and lower regions, and when these were divided, the upper region, or heaven, was called Anu, while the lower region, or earth, was called Anatu, Anatu being the female principle as wife of Anu. . . . One of the manifestations of Anu was as the two forms Lahma and Lakamo, which probably correspond to the Greek forms Dache and Dachus. These forms are said to have sprung out of the original chaos."[17]

If these forms were manifestations of Anu, and if they issued from the original chaos, it follows that Anu himself was that chaos, and as such the original principle of things, as Mr.

[15] The Academy, Sept. 1, 1878, p. 219.
[16] Assyrian Tesestüke. 2nd. Auf. ss. 28, 29.
[17] Chaldäian Genesis, p. 54.

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Smith remarks. In confirmation of this, Prof. Lenormant refers to Anu as: "The Oceanus of the Greeks, the primordial chaos, the god Time and World (kronos and kosmos)."[18] Lenormant shows conclusively, we think, contrary to the opinion of some, that Anu was the actual Oceanus of Berosus.[19] Such being the case, he must have represented the chaos, prior to the separation of the two principles into heaven and earth, resuming them both as an androgynous divinity; for it was only after this separation of chaos, that Anu and Anatu became in a measure distinct, the one being put for the heaven, the other for the earth. It is to be understood that the very name, *Anu*, signifies "the heaven."[20] It follows that the location of the chaos, which this god represented, was in the heaven, it being identified, like him, with the celestial space.

Further now respecting Anatu, Mr. Smith adds: "She is also the lady of darkness, the mother of the god Hea, the mother producing heaven and earth, the female Fish-god."[21] This description identifies *Anatu* with the Accadian goddess *Ria*, of whom Lenormant says, in speaking of Hea:

"He is sometimes said to issue from the goddess Ria, whose name signifies 'the wave,' or more exactly 'the fluid' (*ria*, 'to flow'). Her habitual abode is in the great reservoir (*zuab*), which, as we have already said, surrounds the earth (?). From thence to represent her under the sensible form of a fish-god was but a step, and this was taken; for one of her most habitual titles is 'the great fish of the ocean.' (*gal Khanna zuab*), or, the sublime fish (*Khan makh*)"[22]

The goddess Ria is repeatedly given as the mother of Hea.[23] She is also the "producing mother of *an Ri*,"[24] a group which Mr. Smith renders "heaven and earth;" but of this hereafter. Finally, she is the female Fish-god, a fact which relates her to Anu, who as Oannes, must be the male Fish-god. These data clearly identify the goddess Ria with Anatu, the wife of Anu. Not only this, the ideograph for Ria takes the Assyrian value *ap-su*, "the abyss," and also of *samu*, "heaven,"[25] It is cer-

[18] La Magie, p. 105.
[19] Fragments de Berose, pp. 248-250.
[20] See Lenormant, Etudes Syllob, Cuneif., p. 13.
[21] Chald. Genesis, p. 55.
[22] La Magie, 146.
[23] See 2 Rawl., Pt. 54, 3 Obos., l. 17.
[24] See Ibid, l. 18,
[25] Sayer. Element. Assyr. Gram. Syllab., No. 476.

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tain, then, that Ria represented the abyss, its location being apparently in the heaven. Or, if there be any doubt on this last point, it is removed by a bilingual phrase, where the Accadian *An*, "heaven," is first equated to *Anu*, and then to *Anatu*, the wife of *Anu*, whom we identify with *Ria*.[26] It appears that this goddess, therefore, whether as Ria or Anatu, was originally, as wife of Anu, assimilated to the heaven, and as such was the female form of the Chaos. On the separation of Chaos into heaven and earth, the male and female forms becoming distinct, Anu was put for the heaven, and Anatu for the earth. Hence, in the third line of the tablet just cited, *Au* x *Kis*, "heaven x earth," is equated to both Anu and Anatu. Thus, all goes to show that, in the Babylonian conception of the chaos, its original location was in the heaven, it being identified with the celestial space. We completed here, therefore, the three points previously shown as fundamental in the Egyptian doctrine of the chaos. It was conceived: 1st. As an androgynous Divinity, the assumed First-principle of things. 2d. It consisted of a material, watery element, united to the spiritual element of deep wisdom or knowledge. 3d. Its original location was in the heavens, it being one with the celestial space. The habit of regarding the chaos indifferently, as male or female, seems to have been common to both the Egyptians and Babylonians.

It is well known that Borosus, in his account of the creation, following the Babylonian tradition, enters into a detailed description of the chaos, and of the various monstrous animal forms inhabiting it. It is said that these monstrous forms were all represented on the walls of the temple of Belus. Certain it is, that they are most of them to be found figured on the ancient inscribed slabs and cylinders. Moreover, it is a fact that a large proportion of them are represented on our modern celestial sphere; and it is thus probable that all of them were figured on the native, Babylonian sphere. We believe, in fact, that Berosus, in his description of these monsters inhabiting chaos, simply describes the constellations of heaven,

[26] See 3 Rawl., Pt. 69. 1 Obos. ls. 1, 2.

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as they had been mapped out by the Chaldæan astrologists. Certainly, if the chaos had been identified with the celestial space, Berosus' description could relate to nothing but the constellations. It would not be difficult, we think, to establish this theory, but we have not the space to do so in the present paper.

We pass to consider briefly here the Greek doctrine concerning the primal chaos. M. Lenormant, in advocating the views formally held by Assyriologists, has the following:

"The *Ap-su* is, then, the great reservoir, the abyss of waters. I translated it by 'ocean,' for the only idea one can form of it is closely analogous to the Ocean of Homer. It encloses in the same way the surface of the earth." "The expression (ap-su), which I am explaining, is the name of a fixed locality, that holds an important place in the mythological geography of the great collection of magical hymns of Chaldea. I have said elsewhere (La Magie, p. 143 sqq.), that the Ap-su was the great reservoir of waters, distinct from particular seas, which were regarded as prolongations leading from it, in the interior of the earth." [27]

This description is doubtless correct as to the Babylonian and Greek conceptions of the chaos, at a later period. But originally it was very different, as we have already shown, in the case of the Egyptians and Babylonians. It was the same also with the primitive Greek conception. Dr. P. Asmus has shown that the Greek Oceanus was originally regarded as a celestial sea; thus he says:

"This same sky has been represented as the heavenly sea, and, as Ruhu has remarked, nearly all the sea-gods and goddesses took their origin, not from the terrestrial sea, unknown to the primitive Aryans, but from the heavenly ocean." Again: "But that the sea was, originally, not the terrestrial, but the heavenly welken sea, has been already shown; compare here the Indian Varuna, at first the god of heaven, later the sea. Oceanus and Acheron were regarded as the aërial sea. Still again: The most ancient cosmical conception is, that the All proceeds from the union of Oceanus and his female form Tethys. However, that here, not the terrestrial, but the heavenly, welken sea is meant, we have before shown." [28]

[27] The Academy, July 6th, 1873. p. 14.

[28] Die Indogeren Religion, B. 1. ss. 82, 89, 90, 122, etc.

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It will be seen from the foregoing that even the Greek doc trine, under its primitive form, had identified the chaos, or ocean, from which the All took its birth, with the celestial space, with the heavenly sea, after the manner of the Egyptians and Babylonians. Moreover, there was distinctly involved in this Greek conception, the notion of an androgynous Divinity, or of the male principle, Oceanus, and of the female Tethys. Finally, *Metis* was the personified wisdom or intelligence, being the daughter of this primitive couple, thus realizing, under a slightly modified form, the Egyptian notion which made Nu-t the wife of Nu, the personified intelligence. Thus, the exact analogy, in all its details, between the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek doctrine of the primal chaos, will not fail to strike the mind as very remarkable. Doubtless, at a later period, this doctrine was more or less modified, and especially as re gards the location of the primal ocean, which was ultimately transferred from the celestial to the terrestrial region, and believed to flow around the earth, bounding it on all sides, the inland seas being supplied from it. Not only was this the later Greek conception, according to Lenormant, but also the He brew, according to the map by A. Mesks, in Schenkel's Bibel-Lexikon.[29] It is possible, in fact, that the location of the chaos was thought to have been transferred to the earth after the act of creation.

But it is necessary to close here the present paper. In another article, it is proposed to trace the prevalence of the same doctrines which have been outlined in this, among the Aryans of India and Persia, as well as the Chinese; also to connect these ideas traditionally, with the great Asiatic Olympus, the conceived Mount of Paradise, around whose summit, penetrating the heaven in the region of the Pole-stars the celestial ocean was supposed to center.

[29] Band v. opp. p. 604.

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Article IX.

II Corinthians, v. 1–10.[1]

TRANSLATED WITH NOTES.

We know that if our earthly dwelling-house, the body, were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens. For in this (house) we groan earnestly desiring to be covered with our dwelling which is from heaven, if indeed being inclosed we shall not be found uncovered. For truly we who are in this tabernacle do groan being burdened, not for that we would be uncovered but covered over, that mortality may be swallowed up of life. Now he who hath wrought us for this very thing is God, who hath given us the earnest of the spirit. Being therefore always confident, and knowing that whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord (we walk by faith, not by sight); we are full of confidence, yea, we are delighted rather to be absent from the body and at home with the Lord. Wherefore we are ambitious, whether at home or absent, to be well-pleasing to him. For it was necessary for us all to have appeared before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one (of us) might receive the things (confirmations) through the body according to what we have done whether good or bad.

In the foregoing translation, the word "clothed" is rejected, to avoid the grotesque figure of clothing a man with a house. People are covered, but not clothed in that manner. The Greek words clearly admit of this construction. The words as they appear in the text are *ἐνδυσάμενοι, ἐκδύσασθαι, ἐπενδύσασθαι.*

These words mean, evidently, to *cover*, *uncover*, and *cover over*. The covering may be an outward garment, or a shelter of some kind against the weather. The word *ἐπενδύσασθαι* denotes the putting on of a garment, or other covering, our common clothing, as a cloak or a tunic, or perhaps an entrance

[1] These brief Notes were received from the late Rev. Dr. Williams a few days before his death. They are placed here in deference to his desire, and in the hope that they may receive the attention of which they are worthy.—Editor.

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under a roof, or some other covering for protection against the sun or the rain.

Paul, in assuming his spiritual vesture seemed anxious not to be dispossessed of his physical garment (the body); but to put on the spiritual over it. He was ambitious of the distinction of being well-pleasing to the Lord and accepted of him.

Τοὺς πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ.

Here the impersonal verb, denoting necessity, is used in the present tense. The main verb appears in the historical time first aorist passive infinitive. It points to past time with special reference to the present or the future. It should be observed, however, that the first aorist passive is sometimes used in the sense of the perfect passive.

It seems to me, however, that in the present instance the words have a past significance. The apostle, speaking of his converts at Corinth, and other places, indicated very clearly that, by some unrecorded process, or a method undefined, they had already appeared before the judgment-seat of Christ It was fitting and even necessary that they should have thus appeared or been exhibited, that each might receive the things—probably compensations—in, or through the body, which is the earthly house, or tabernacle, whatever these things, or compensations might have been whether good or bad. The reference to a future life "a house not made with hands," in the context, changes no fact of actual occurrence. They were ambitious to be agreeable, or well-pleasing because they had appeared before the judgment-seat of Christ.

Many instances occur in the Christian records of the use of this word in the same sense. A case in point occurs in Luke xiii. 16. It was the healing of an infirm woman on the Sabbath day. The Jews complained; Jesus replied: "Ought not this woman to *have been* loosed (*οὐκ ἔδει λυθῆναι*) on the Sabbath day?" Here there can be no question. The Revised Version gives the same, form and meaning.

Another instance occurs in the account, or parable of the prodigal son, Luke xv. 32. He had returned penitent to the paternal home and was welcomed with joy by the father. But

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the elder brother was offended. In extenuation of his course, the father replied,—"It was meet *to have rejoiced.*—*εδει ευφρανθηναι.*

Luke xxiv. 44 points to the fulfilment of a prophecy, but the record is made as a thing already accomplished. Jesus is recorded as saying,—"These are words which I have spoken unto while yet with you: for it was needful for all things spoken by the prophets, *to have been* fulfilled. *δεῖ πληρωθηναι πάντα τα*, etc. This record stands near the close of Luke's biography, when most of the prophecies must have been fulfilled. See also Acts i. 16, where the same form is used, *εδει πληρωθηναι.*

To the same effect appears Luke xxii, 37, "For I say" . . "this that is written must yet be accomplished in me" —*δει τελεσθηναι—must have been* fulfilled.

So Mark xiii. 10. The gospel must first *have been* preached, *δει πρωτον κηρυχθηναι*—and preached among all nations.

This passage is found among a series of prophecies relating to the disciples in the discharge of their duties. "Take heed" —"they shall deliver you"—"ye shall be beaten"—"be brought before rulers"—"the gospel *must have been* preached;" —then comes a warning, "take no thought what ye shall speak"—"it shall be given you"—"ye shall be hated, and brother shall betray brother." In all this the future time is used, except in this one instance, "the gospel must have been preached." Here the historical term is employed. Why is this exception, when all the rest is future?—why unless there was the intention to express a thing accomplished, the gospel actually preached according to prophecy, before the other events occurred? It seems strange otherwise that such a collection of words should have been made. *Must be preached* makes the past a future. "Must have been preached" gives alone the true historical idea.

Another similar use of the historical term occurs in asserting the preaching of repentance and the remission of sins, Luke xxiv, 46, 47. It was necessary for Christ to suffer, to *have been raised* from the dead, and repentance and remission to *have been preached* among all nations, *εδει κηρυχθηναι.* The

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events here recorded had already passed, and of course the historical term was appropriate. The verb denoting necessity is also in the past time indicating repentance and conversion to have been preached before the crucifixion.

Other historical incidents may here be brought to view in illustration of the general subject. Many things are assumed as incidents of facts already complete. Jesus told his disciples that all the things written *must have been* fulfilled. *δει πληρωθηναι*—Luke xx. 44—that he must be—*must have been* rejected. *δει αποδοκιμασθηναι*—and delivered—*δει παραδοθηναι*—and been killed—*δει αποκτανθηναι*—Mark viii. 31—and be raised on the third day—*εγερθηναι*. These and many other passages that might be quoted sufficiently indicate the drift of thought and the form of speech.

These passages, too, with others of a similar import serve to confirm the translation here given of 2 Cor. v, 10. "It was needful for us all to have appeared," or to have been made manifest, "before the judgment-seat of Christ." Whatever that judgment-seat may have been, the language clearly points to a fact that had already occurred. All those included in its scope must have appeared, or been made manifest, and therefore arraigned to be judged and to receive the things in the body, or through the body, according to what they had done, whether good or bad. *R. O. Williams.*

General Review.

The Blood of Christ.

One of the most significant proofs that the orthodoxy of to-day presents a wholly changed front from that manifest by the orthodoxy of not long ago, is the fact that in sermons and essays, in periodicals and books there is a giving up of the dogma that the death of Christ was necessary in order to produce a needed change in God's disposition towards man; and a studied and persistent effort to show that it was

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permitted on the part of God in order to affect and change man. The fact that this has been the position of the Universalist Church for three-quarters of a century, is, of course, ignored, and the change in theory is put forth as though it were new and original. Far be it from us to make such a claim to priority in this view as to intimate our right to its exclusive possession and use. We but state the fact that we are the pioneers in this rational interpretation, and that credit ought to be given us. Nevertheless it is with us matter of rejoicing that our views, though unacknowledged as to their source, are now being championed by those who once derided them.

One of the most forceful and radical arguments against the old views has recently been made by Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, in the *Andover Review* for November, 1889.[1] He starts off with the declaration that it is doubtful whether anything in the religious thought of the Christian church more strikingly illustrates and confirms the declaration of the apostle, that "the letter killeth," than its interpretation respecting the blood of Jesus Christ. This teaching is, he claims, on the face of it, metaphorical; and any attempt to realize it materially, makes it repellant. Yet this literal, material thought early prevailed in the Christian theology, and at the present day is taught to about one half of Christendom. And it is claimed that in order to enforce it miracles are being wrought almost constantly, at least as often as the Roman Catholic Priest pronounces the benediction on the bread and wine which he places on the altar, thereby making them the literal body and literal blood of Christ. Not simply a portion of Christ's body and blood, but the entirety of these. For "If," say the Decrees of the Council of Trent, "any one denieth that in the sacrament of the most holy Eucharist are contained truly, really and substantially, the body and blood together with the soul and divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, but saith that he is only therein as a sign or in figure or virtue, let him be anathema."

Nor are Protestants, Mr. Abbott says, although they repudiate the doctrine of transubstantiation, exempt from this literalness, this materialized conception of the blood of Christ. They have wrought it into their very hymns in such expressions as empty it of all metaphor and represent a literal verity. "It has been declared that this blood of Christ was necessary, in order that our own suffering might be intermitted. It has been declared that, because we were guilty of infinite sin, having sinned against an Infinite Being, and were therefore under

[1] The Blood of Jesus Christ: The New Testament Doctrine.

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an infinite condemnation, it was necessary that an infinite person should suffer physically; that Jesus Christ, an infinite person, did suffer an infinite amount of suffering in a finite quantity of time, in order that the infinite suffering might be taken off from the human race. So the love of God has been reduced to a mathematical formula."

Against this there has been, he says, a revolt, and in the revolt it is not strange that all that the New Testament teaches about the blood of Christ has been deemed intrusive, out of place, and fit only to be blotted out of the consciousness of the Christian church. Yet we cannot eliminate it from the New Testament without erasing a large and valuable part of the record. He thus calls attention to the manner in which it is recorded: "The New Testament declares that we are purified by the blood of Christ; that we are washed by the blood of Christ; that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ; that we are justified by the blood of Christ; that we are redeemed by the blood of Christ; that we are brought nigh to God by the blood of Christ. It declares that by his own blood Christ entered into the holy place. It declares that by the covenant, signed by his blood, we enter into fellowship with Him. This figure of blood is woven into the fabric of New Testament teaching, and is really more pronounced and prominent in the New Testament than in the Old.[2] Moreover, Christ himself has laid special prominence upon it; for he has wrought it into an object lesson to remain with the church throughout all coming time. He has not merely said,—we might perhaps think him misreported in that,—'He that does not eat of my flesh and drink of my blood has no life in him,' but he has wrought this figure into a ceremonial, a sacred service, which has abode with the church in various forms for eighteen centuries, and bids fair to abide with it as long as the church shall stand."

The words thus employed cannot be meaningless. What do they signify? Dr. Abbott finds that the scriptural significance is threefold. We shall sadly mutilate his statements if we attempt any synopsis or abridgment, and therefore we quote him in full:

"I. Going back to the Old Testament, we find there the declaration that "the blood is the life." The blood of the sacrifice was the

2 To see how much must be taken out of the New Testament if its teaching concerning "the blood" is excluded, examine the following passages: Matt. xxv. 28; John vi. 54-56; Rom iii. 25; v. 9; I Cor. x. 16; Ephes i, 7; ii. 13; Col. i. 20. Heb. ix. 12-14; 21-22; x. 19; xii. 24; xiii. 12; I Pet. i. 19: Rev. v. 19; vii. 14; xii. 11; xiii. 21; xix. 13.

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life of the sacrifice. The blood of Christ is the life of Christ. Turning from the Old Testament to other literatures, we find this figure wrought into the language of all peoples, blood standing everywhere as the symbol and sign and token of that which is inmost in the person, his intrinsic and essential nature. It is difficult to say why. One might suppose that the nerves were more than the blood a representative of a man's character, that his brain was more a representative of him than his heart; but in all languages and literatures it is the heart that stands for the very essence of the man not the brain; the blood, not the nerves. So we speak of a man as hot-blooded, meaning thereby hot of temperament, or cold of temperament; so we declare that a man's blood is heated, when we mean that he is aroused, and all his powers are alive with extraordinary activity.

"First of all, then, we are saved by the character, the life of Jesus Christ. The blood of Christ signifies not the drops that trickled from his back when he wrestled with agony in the Garden of Gethsemane; nor that which trickled from the hands and feet as he was nailed to the cross. It represents not what he did or suffered eighteen hundred years ago. It stands primarily for Christ himself in his very personality. What saves, redeems, purifies the world, is not primarily what Christ said as a teacher, nor the example he set as a man, nor even the manifestation which he made of the nature of God, but what Christ was and is in himself, his individuality, his personality. He, the Divine One, not only living then, but through all centuries living, he is the Saviour of the world. The world is saved, not by a "plan of salvation," not by something that we think about Christ; not by something that has been taught about Christ; not even by what Christ has said about himself; not even by his own teaching; nor yet by something that he did and suffered. It is saved by Christ himself. Because in him the blood—that is, the very heart of God is brought in contact with the heart of man, therefore Christ is the world's Saviour.

"In the desert of Africa, Livingstone, the missionary and traveller, writes in his diary these words: 'What is the atonement of Christ? It is himself. It is the inherent and everlasting mercy of God, made apparent to human eyes and ears. The everlasting love was disclosed by our Lord's life and teaching. It showed that God forgives because He loves to forgive? This is the primary meaning of the blood of Christ, the meaning which lies on the very surface of the phrase.'

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"II. But if we look at his figure of blood as we use it in common language, we shall see that there is something more in it; we shall see that it represents, not only the character and person, but that it represents a character transmittible, and a character transmitted. We speak of blooded stock, meaning thereby stock not only noble in character, but with a noble pedigree. We speak of men of noble blood, meaning thereby not only men of noble nature, but men who have inherited from fathers and mothers a noble nature. That kind of character which comes through education we call culture. That kind of character which comes as a free gift, given and almost unconsciously received, that we call blood.

"This may help to interpret to us the second element in the teaching of the New Testament. There is a power transmittible in God, and there is a power of reception in man. We take character as God's free gift, and He passes it over to us. The very blood of God, as it were, flows through our arteries; and the very heart of God becomes itself the pulsating heart of humanity. He fills us with his own life, as though he had emptied us of our own corrupt blood and filled the arteries and the heart with a new and diviner fluid. A father adopts a son, taking him out of the street. He surrounds him with culture and educative influences; he gives him a refined home and educated companions; he sends him to a school and college; and yet in spite of it all there crops out in the adopted one's nature now and then some grossness, some coarseness, some element that belonged to his father or his grandfather. But if the foster-father in bringing into his family this boy out of the street could bring him into the inheritance of his own qualities; if one of a long line of noble ancestry, he could transmit to him the refinement received from that ancestry; if he could pour into him courage, nobility, fidelity, the fineness, the refinement of nature, such as is the product of generations of breeding,—he would do what God represents himself as doing for us. He adopts us into his household. He brings us under educative influences. He environs us with spiritual culture. He surrounds us with those who have been animated by His own spirit. But that is not all. When God adopts, he adopts not merely into the family and household of faith; but he adopts into the very generation of Divinity. We become sons of God; heirs of God; joint heirs with Christ; partakers of the divine nature. We are saved by the blood of Christ when the transmitted nature of God enters into us and becomes a part of our own nature through Jesus Christ.

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"III. But there is still one other thought current in our thought when we use this figure in common conversation. We say the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. What do we mean,? We mean that the sacrifice of those who have been willing to suffer for a principle is the up-building of the church. Is the man who died upon the rack, and whose broken joints gave forth no drops of blood,—is he not a part of the seed of the Church? Are Cranmer and Latimer, whose bodies are burned, no part of the seed of the Church? The ashes of the martyrs are the seed of the church as truly as the blood of the martyrs. We look back across the intervening years to the men who were willing to shed their blood for their nation's liberty; but we honor more than all the one who went through the Revolution unwounded, shedding no drops of his blood. When we get away from theology, it is not blood that is precious, but that self-denial and self-sacrifice which is represented and typified by blood shed for those who have no claim except in the court of love. We are saved by the life of Christ; we are saved by the transmitted life of Christ; we are saved by that transmitted life poured out for us, laid down for us. These are the three thoughts involved in the declaration that we are saved by the blood of Christ. Not by something said or done or suffered eighteen centuries ago, but by that spirit of self-sacrifice and denial that was in the heart of Christ, and is in the heart of God, and will be in the heart of God as long as God is God, and as long as He has suffering children with whom to suffer.

"But it is only as this spirit that was in Christ is in us, that we are saved by it. It is only as we take him into ourselves and make him a part of our own nature, that we are saved by him. It is only as he takes us into himself, and we take him into ourselves that we are purified, cleansed, redeemed, sanctified, lifted up on high.

"It is not true that gospel truth must always be stated in Scripture form; but it may be very reasonably asserted that no doctrine is New Testament doctrine which cannot be stated in New Testament words. And theology has had to create unscriptural terms to state that doctrine of atonement on which it has insisted, a doctrine which cannot be stated in New Testament language. Are we saved by expiation? There is no word "expiation" in the New Testament. Are we saved by substitution? There is no word "substitution" in the New Testament. Are we saved by vicarious sacrifice? There is no word "vicarious" in the New Testament. Are we saved by atonement? There is no word "atonement" in the New Testament. Twice the word

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occurs in the old version ;[8] but in neither place does it belong there ; in both places it has been taken out by the translators in the New Version. We are saved by One who brings the divine life down into the world ; and we are saved when our own hearts and our own lives are open, and his heart and his life are poured into ours. As the stream pouring through a filthy receptacle cleanses it, so the poured-out life of Christ, flowing through the centuries, filling the hearts of all his children, and all his followers, flows through the world, a constantly increasing river, cleansing humanity. As the waters of the Nile rise and overspread its banks, and carry harvests wheresoever they flow, so this life of Christ flowing through the centuries, and rising above all bounds that would hold it within narrow limits, carries with it harvests in its open palm into whatever heart or home or life it enters. There are in two or three European Roman Catholic cathedrals phials that contain what is claimed to be the sacred blood of Christ. We are not worthy to be called Christians unless we ourselves hold within ourselves something of that sacred life, personality, character, divinity, that was in Christ himself. The legends tell us that holy men have travelled over the world that they might find the holy cup in which Christ administered the first communion. We need not go far to find it, for right here by our side, are holy men and women in whose hearts there is the life-blood of Christ, and from which we may drink, imbibing their spirit in their forth-putting influences. For the true Holy Grail is the heart set to do Christ's service, and filled with Christ's spirit."

Dr. Abbott's thought, in one particular, was thus expressed by the late Dean Stanley, in one of his latest sermons. Insisting that the life of Christ, especially in its highest manifestation of love was what was meant to be symbolized by his blood, "it was," he said, "this love stronger than death, this love manifesting itself in death, this love willing to sacrifice itself for the sake of others, which was the blood of the cross by which the multitudes of the sins of men were blotted out, and washed and cleansed away. Love, generosity, magnanimity, kindness, toleration, forgiveness, and a host of kindred virtues, were the things of which that blood was the emblem, and of which the divine life and death were the supreme fulfilment."

One great advantage of this New Testament and rational view over the old dogma, is, that this is eminently practical and humane. It

[8] Once only, Romans v. 1.

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gives significance to such commands as "Put ye on the Lord Christ," "Have the mind in you which was also in Christ," and such declarations as "The glory of the mystery . . . is Christ in you, the hope of glory," "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps;" as also such assurances that through the imitation of Christ we shall become one with him and one with God who sent him. The old theory could not be practiced by imitation without outraging all that is sacred and lovely in human nature. The New Testament doctrine calls us to the best and highest for ourselves and for others when it bids us be "imitators of God as dear children."

Improvements in Teaching Political Economy.[1]

THE construction of President Andrews' admirable class-book in Economics affords abundant evidence of recent improvement in methods of teaching that subject. The author would hardly endorse the following remark from the preface to Amasa Walker's "Science of Wealth," quoted by Prof. Ely: "Although desirable that the instructor should be familiar with the subject himself, it is by no means indispensable." The teacher who, dispensing with a knowledge of the subject, should attempt to instruct any class, bright or dull, from the "Institutes," would have entered on a course bristling with difficulties, and leading to utter wretchedness. The text of the book is characterized by an entire absence of padding, and even the numerous and valuable illustrative notes do not furnish enough intellectual "hay" for the average student. The book implies first of all for its successful use a thoroughly informed and vivacious teacher, amply supplied with elucidation and illustration of the difficulties of economic doctrine. The concise and compact analysis of the author is refreshing to one more or less familiar with manuals of Political Economy with their endless suppositional cases, but although the method employed was suggested by actual experience of class-room needs, it is quite possible that in the hands of a less skillful teacher than Dr. Andrews the book might be found to err on the side of brevity.

A chief merit of the manual lies in affording, by means of its copious references to the German, English, French, Italian, and American authorities, and important recent and current discussions, an unusual-

[1] *Institutes of Economics:* A succinct text-book of Political Economy for the use of classes in Colleges, High Schools, and Academies: by Elisha Benjamin Andrews, D.D., LL. D., President of Brown University; late Professor of Political Economy and Finance in Cornell University. Boston. Silver, Burdett & Co. 1889. 12 mo., cloth, pp. xii—227; Introductory price, $1.30.

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ly wide view of economic literature. This feature, together with the felicity with which the author avoids assuming airs of finality, unhappily common among writers in this field, would produce on any bright pupil of college years the wholesome impression that he was just entering upon the borders of a living, growing science, whose subject matter lies all about him.

The notes, besides amplifying and illustrating the text, have in many cases a curious interest and value of their own, as witness the note on Ground Rent, p. 166; that on Value, p. 109; and the convenient method of computing depreciation in silver given in note 4, p. 205. Into the great number of references to authorities, and cross-references to the book itself, it is not strange that an occasional error should have entered undetected. For instance, a reference in n. 4, p. 147 to "Walker, p. 190," should be "Walker, p. 180;" on p. 198 reference is made to paragraph 20, n. 10, which should be to par. 21, n. 10. Several references to Perry appear to be wrong, though that may be due to difference in edition. It is not unlikely that careful scrutiny would detect other errors, all of which will doubtless be removed from the future editions which the book deserves.

The spirit in which the work is conceived and executed is broad and moderate, and while on one hand the author entertains decided views and expresses them positively, he on the other takes good care to point out the existence of varying opinions backed by respectable authority. The book was undertaken partly for the purpose of revising and restating in the light of the most authoritative recent discussion, economic doctrine on several important topics of the science, as Value, Money, Interest, Wages, and Profits; and partly to devise a form of typographical presentation that should offer needed and valuable assistance to the discrimination and memory of the student. In carrying out the second object a thorough aud careful analysis of the whole subject has been accomplished in a manner the value of which is not likely to be exaggerated, and "substantive material" has been distinguished from subsidiary by the use of full-face type. An important paragraph of the Introduction may be quoted to illustrate both the point of view of the author, and the typographical method adopted.

"The **Historical School** merits thanks for insisting on what, though well known, is rarely felt in proper force, that Economics, when applied, becomes a mere science of **tendencies,** and that no one of its specific laws can safely be pronounced operative in any concrete case

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without fullest study of **local** and **temporal conditions.** It has refuted the old notions of human nature and social institutions as **fixed creations,** and shown society to be an organism, subject to **evolution,** no less than are the other realms of biology; thus incidentally revealing, further, how **meager** must be a system of Economic truths valid for **all** ages and peoples. To the **Socialists,** whether partial or complete, be it granted that (*a*) *laissez faire* is **no absolute** principle, (*b*) its application has nowhere brought social millennium, (*c*) existence of thorough natural harmony in interests between social classes is **not proved,** (*d*) government can **do much** for the betterment of economic conditions without attacking the property right, or becoming dangerously paternal, (*e*) within these limits **it should labor** in this direction to the utmost, (*f*) with increase of morality and intelligence, its sphere may in this respect possibly be enlarged. Yet we maintain that: **I. Certain general laws of absolute and universal validity and no less 'natural' than those of physics, underlie the science of Economics, viz., those laws of the physical world and of man's constitution which determine man's temporal weal. II. In all economic activity the presumption is in favor of individual liberty and free competition** (*laissez faire*)**, rightfulness of public intervention in no case admissible save after proof."**

From this and immediately preceding paragraphs, Dr. Andrews' opposition to the Socialists would appear to be complete, although he admits the usefulness of their work in modifying certain usually accepted economic doctrines; but in a note on page 161 he remarks: "Whether, and if so, how far, the movement toward Socialism is healthy, perhaps no man living is wise enough to say;" a statement that apparently restores somewhat of the ground relentlessly cut in earlier pages from under Rodbertus, Marks, and their followers.

It would be of interest, if space permitted, to note in order some of the distinctive views set forth in successive chapters; as on the tariff under International Exchange, wherein the advocates of restriction would find scant comfort; on Ideal money, on the "Fifth Category," and monopoly, under Distribution; on the broadened use of the term Rent; but for eminently satisfactory treatment of these and other topics student and teacher may be heartily encouraged to have recourse to the book itself.

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Contemporary Literature.

The Geography of Marriage, or Legal Perplexities of Wedlock in the United States. By William L. Snyder. Second edition. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889. 8vo. pp. ix., 334. $1.50.

The title of this book, which at first seems odd, is seen to be peculiarly appropriate as one learns the fact which the volume so clearly and fully sets forth, that laws in this country with regard to marriage differ in nearly every State in the Union, and that parties to such a contract in order that it may be legal must understand and heed the local commands of the State in which the marriage service is to be performed. In preparing such a work there is danger of mistake, the laws being so different in the several States; and we notice that such a mistake has been made in describing a portion of the law on marriage in Massachusetts. Speaking of the notice of the certificate of intention to marry to be issued by the city or town clerk, Mr. Snyder says: "In Massachusetts it should be in the city or town where parties propose to wed." p. 123. This is true, however, only of non-residents of the State. Parties to a marriage who are residents of the State must procure their certificate in the city or town in which they respectively dwell, and if the marriage is solemnised in some other place than the residence of either party, the officiating minister must make return of that fact to the city or town clerk where the ceremony took place. There are many curious and interesting things in Mr. Snyder's book, though evidently it has been put together in haste. The publishers have done their work in an admirable manner.

A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Edited by Philip Schaff, D.D, LL. D., Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. In connection with a number of Patristic Scholars of Europe and America. Volume xii. Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians. New York. The Christian Literature Company. 1889. Royal 8vo. pp. xiv., 438. $3.00.

The contents of this volume originally made two volumes of the English edition, one volume of which appeared in 1844 and the other in 1848. The volume before us has been revised with additional notes, by Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D. D., of New York, who has conformed the English text of the Epistles to that of the Revised Version of 1881, except in cases where the Greek text used by Chrysostom varied from that used by recent editors. "All peculiarities of Chrysostom's text have been faithfully preserved." These Homilies on the Epistles to the Corinthians were preached during Chrysostom's residence in Antioch, A. D. 381–398; and have ever been regarded as among the most perfect specimens of the renowned preacher's mind and teaching. "They are of that mixed form, between exposition and exhortation, which serves perhaps better than any other, first, to secure attention, and then to convey to an attentive hearer the full purport of the holy words as they stand in the Bible, and to

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communicate to him the very impression which the preacher himself received from the text." Expository preaching was generally adopted by Chrysostom, and is now quite generally demanded. The preachers of to-day will therefore find it useful to consult these pages and learn how the most eloquent and effective of the Fathers performed this service. There have been great improvements in exegesis since the closing years of the fourth century, but notwithstanding this Chrysostom gives many valuable hints to the preacher of to-day.

The Wooing of Grandmother Grey. By Kate Gannatt Woods. Illustrated. Boston. Lee & Shepard. 1890. Oblong 4to. pp. 33. $2.00.

This charming book with its handsome illustrations, recalls in the happiest manner the days of our grandsires, the methods of their living, the old-fashioned houses, the chairs, the candle-sticks, the open fire-place with its cheery glow, the eight-day clock in the corner of the room, the inviting brick hearth, and the general comfort of the farm-house. Grandmother Grey tells the story of her courtship with a refreshing regard for the truth, touching a tender chord in every soul, and making one yearn for the homely simplicity and rugged sincerity which characterized the families of the old country homes of New England. The narrative of the wooing is life-like in every particular:

"'I was thinkin', Jabez,' said Grandmother Grey,
How it all was so long ago,
When you lived with your father miles away,
And the ground was covered with heaps of snow.'"

The language of the poem is a truthful representation of the style of speech used in Grandmother Grey's time, and the artist has succeeded admirably in vividly portraying the sentiment of the poem.

"It is years ago, and this old ring is worn;
Of trouble we've seen a sight;
But, Jabez, somehow I'm always young
When I sit and think of that night."

* * * * * * *

"New Year's morning came, and Grandmother Grey
Was silent, and pale, and cold;
Just as the old year faded away,
The years of her life were told."

How to Study Geography. By Frances W. Parker. New York. D. Appleton & Company. 1889. 12mo. pp. 400. $1.50.

This is Vol. x. of the International Education Series, edited by W. T. Harris, A. M., LL. D. ,and published as "a library for teachers and school managers, and text books for normal classes." The aim of the publishers and editor, is, "to provide works of a useful, practical character in the broader sense." The ground attempted to be covered by the series is, I.—History of Education; II.—Educational Criticism; III.—Systematic Treatises on the Theory of Education; IV.—The Art of Education. The book before us falls under a division of the fourth head, viz., Methods of Instruction. Its aim,

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therefore, is one of many to meet the common demand of teachers for "methods." It is written by an enthusiast, who, making the most of his theme, makes too much of it. Spelling, writing, language, grammar, arithmetic, are regarded as of little value when compared with the importance of geography; a presumption that strikes us as bordering on the absurd. Aside from this, however, the book has great value. It is a plea that geography should not be made a mere study of maps and names, but that it should give the pupil a clear conception of the structure of continents and their natural parts, and through such conception train him to the appreciation of the world as a whole. The first object of study is a river basin; and as continents are made up of several river basins, the continental structure is next considered. A detailed examination of North America is first made, then the other continental masses, and suggestive and fruitful comparisons are instituted between them. The treatment of the theme is simple, clear, scientific, logical. The natural treatment being thus indicated, an outline of study for grades from the first to the eighth follows. Then come valuable suggestions and directions to the teacher, and copious "notes" on the study of each grade. Structure is made a fundamental idea in geographical study, and a strong plea is put forth for the use of relief maps, profiles and pictures of relief maps as containing "a great deal more truth to the young learner than all other means combined." An appendix, evidently prepared with great care, contains an admirable list of books of reference both of a general character, and of those especially adapted to study in the respective grades. Earnest teachers will welcome such a help as this book affords, and all who have to do with the training of the young will be greatly profited by the study of its pages.

Our Baby's Book. Lee & Shepard. Boston. 1889.

This is a dainty arrangement of leaves of thin, gilt-edged cardboard, with a title-page tastefully illuminated in blue and silver, tied with delicate colored ribbon, with a silvered chain for hanging in a suitable place. From the selection on the title-page to the verses, "Baby's Skies," which suggest that the mother keep her face serene for baby's sake, each page is beautifully decorated and arranged for recording the time of the baby's birth, its weight, christening, first tooth, first picture, and its "own wise sayings and doings." Mothers and the friends of the baby will appreciate this convenient form for keeping a record that at the time of happening is of absorbing interest, but which if not written down in a special book may be lost entirely, and only dimly remembered.

American Statesmen Series: Edited by John T. Morse, Jr. George Washington. By Henry Cabot Lodge. In two volumes. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp vi, 341; 399. $1.25 each.

Mr. Lodge says, in his introduction: "Washington stands as a type, and has stamped himself deep upon the imagination of mankind.

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Whether the image be true or false is of no consequence; the fact endures. He rises up from the dust of history as a Greek statue comes pure and serene from the earth in which it has lain for centuries. We know his deeds; but what was it in the man which has given him such a place in the affection, the respect, and the imagination of his fellow men throughout the world? Perhaps this question has been fully answered already. Possibly every one who has thought upon the subject has solved the problem, so that even to state it is superfluous. Yet a brilliant writer, the latest historian of the American people, has said: 'General Washington is known to us, and President Washington. But George Washington is an unknown man.' These are pregnant words, and that they should be true seems to make any attempt to fill the great gap an act of sheer and hopeless audacity. Yet there can be certainly no reason for adding another to the almost countless lives of Washington unless it be done with the object in view which Mr. McMaster indicates. Any such attempt may fail in execution, but if the purpose be right it has at least an excuse for its existence."

This answers the very natural question as one takes up these handsome volumes: "Why another Life of Washington?" That Mr. Lodge has not only had a noble "purpose," but that he has also achieved a great success in its "execution," no unprejudiced reader can doubt; and those who are familiar with the facts in Mr. Fiske's "Critical Period in American History," will be sure that the man, George Washington, now stands fully revealed. The Portrait of the Character of our "First Man" is most admirably drawn, and the analysis of his powers and capacities is complete and just. No disguise is made of his peculiarities, his seeming defects, his so-called eccentricities. These are all faithfully drawn, toned as facts require, and set in their true light in making up the estimate of his character.

Among a multitude of particulars in which Mr. Lodge's criticism is keen and his conclusions unanswerable, we may notice these three: First, his estimate of the fantastic traditions originating in the imagination of Weems, whose biography of Washington, especially of his youth, is shown to be wholly untrustworthy; second, the sneering, flippant prejudice of Carlyle, leading him to belittle Washington by putting him forth as a sort of "desiccated Cromwell;" and third, the power and influence of Washington, not only in holding the Army together during the eight years of trial and strife, but his incessant activity in the days of peril succeeding the war, and the greatness of his wisdom and skill in the Presidency of the United States. The value of Mr. Lodge's work in these respects cannot be overestimated, and ought to be known and understood by every American citizen.

Mr. Lodge's last words convey a just idea of what the careful reader will also find to be true: "I see in Washington a great soldier who fought a trying war to a successful end impossible without him; a great statesman who did more than all other men to lay the foundations of a republic which has endured in prosperity for more than a

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century. I find in him a marvelous judgment which was never at fault, a penetrating vision which beheld the future of America when it was dim to other eyes, a great intellectual force, a will of iron, an unyielding grasp of facts, and an unequalled strength of patriotic purpose. I see in him too a pure and high-minded gentleman of dauntless courage and stainless honor, simple and steady of manner, kind and generous of heart. Such he was in truth. The historian and biographer may fail to do him justice, but the instinct of mankind will not fail. The real hero needs not books to give him worshippers. George Washington will always receive the love and reverence of men because they see embodied in him the noblest possibilities of humanity."

In a Fair Country. Illustrated by Irene C. Jerome. Essays from "Out-Door Papers," by Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Boston. Lee & Shepard. 1890. Oblong 4to. pp. 99. $6.00.

This is in every way a magnificent and princely volume. We have seen nothing in its line that can compare with it in attractiveness and real worth. Col. Higginson's essays are artistic in the highest sense, presenting us as vividly as words can, pictures of the things of which he writes. Miss Jerome has entered into hearty sympathy with the text, and in drawings, large and small, covering fifty-five full pages, of still life, animated beings, April and December birds, flowers, brooks, meadows, woods, rivers, valleys, and other scenes, has explained and enforced many significant passages. A judicious critic has well said:

"The fifty-five illustrations which ornament this volume are not surpassed even by the former triumphs of 'One Year's Sketch Book,' 'Nature's Hallelujah,' 'A Bunch of Violets,' and 'The Message of the Blue-bird,' household treasures throughout the land. Whether floating in her boat on Concord River, with its wealth of floral adornments, its scenic surprises in the windings of its stream in and about places made famous by Thoreau and Emerson, or in her loftier flights amid the hills of 'beautiful Camden' down by the sea, where the grandeur of mountain views possesses charms to wake enthusiasm, she has exhibited the same fidelity to nature in her beautiful pictures, the same exquisite taste in the selection of her subjects, which have characterized her previous achievements." Without the illustrations the essays would be admirable; without the essays the illustrations would be charming; but the union of pen and pencil has produced a book in every way superb.

A Defence of the Catholic Faith Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ, against Faustus Socinus. By Hugo Grotius. Translated, with Notes and an Introduction. by Frank Hugh Foster, Ph. D., Professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary at Oberlin. Andover. Warren F. Draper. 1889. 16mo. pp. lvii, 314. $1.50.

In criticising this work, Dr. Boardman, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1889, calls attention to two things which he says must be

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"borne in mind in the study of Grotius' defence: First, that he is defending the doctrine of the Satisfaction of Christ against Socinus, and second, that he is a jurist, not a theologian, not a philosopher. . . . . He understood the church doctrine of salvation to be this: God out of His mercy, delivers man from the punishment due to sin, on the ground that Christ has suffered its penalty for them." In a notice of the book in the *Methodist Review* for September, 1889, it is also said: "The core of the theory is, that there was sufficient cause to induce God to punish Christ in man's stead, and that it was not unjust that Christ should be punished for our sins." Dr. Foster, on the contrary, protests against any one's holding that Grotius taught that Christ was punished "as a satisfaction of distributive justice," and contends that penalty was put upon him wholly as "an example." Practically the distinction amounts to little, and from the statement of Dr. Foster, in his "Introduction," to the effect that Calvinists and Arminians alike misunderstood Grotius, each attributing to him different theories, it is evident that his statement was not clear to those who read it in its original Latin. In its English dress it justifies the criticism that like all Latin theology it is a base caricature on the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and is wholly heartless and godless, unless we conceive it as emanating from a god who is simply King, and in no sense Father. As a statement of what was once orthodox in New England, it is of value. But happily it is not now held nor can it be defended by the modified orthodoxy of to-day. As a substitute for the theory rendered untenable by John Murray's Rellyan arguments, as Dr. Foster has shown in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1889, (See the QUARTERLY for April, 1889, p. 229), it did very well as a temporary makeshift, but being neither Christian, humane nor rational, it has well deserved its fate, general rejection.

American Statesmen. Benjamin Franklin. By John T. Morse, Jr. Boston & New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp. vi, 428. $1.25.

This is the twentieth in the "American Statesmen" series. Mr. Morse has had editorial charge of all the volumes and has written several. He is a careful compiler of facts, a faithful recorder of what he finds to be true, and uses a felicitous, terse and vigorous style in his writings. His subject in the volume before us was one of the most many sided men in attainments, labor and influence ever produced in America, if, indeed, in any part or age of the world. Many general biographies of Franklin have appeared, all more or less based on the inimitable autobiography; and it was therefore natural that Mr. Morse should have entered on his work with misgivings as to the possibility of adding to the already existing sources of information of this wonderful American. But the countrymen of Franklin never will weary of looking at Benjamin Franklin in any light, new or old; and recent discoveries of documents bearing on his varied work in France during and immediately after our great struggle for Independence, make the special representation of Franklin as a States-

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man opportune and acceptable. Incidentally Mr. Morse touches on other phrases of Franklin's life and abilities, but these are all illustrations of, and otherwise tributary to the display of his characteristics as a servant of the people's cause. In this service no dangers were too great, no sacrifices too numerous, no opposition too violent to turn him from his efforts to do all in his power to secure the independence of his country. Faithful, unwearied, constant in his work, he shares with Washington the honor and the glory of creating the United States. It is not too much to say that no other American could have succeeded as he did in obtaining aid from France, and in keeping up the credit of the seemingly bankrupt condition of the struggling colonies, in Holland, Spain and elsewhere in the Old World. Mr. Morse says truly that "He was as much the right man in Europe as was Washington in America." Able men who were not without renown at home and abroad, were sent to aid him in France, but often they well-nigh wrecked his plans and greatly increased his difficulties. When Bancroft calls him "the greatest diplomatist of his century," he deals in no exaggeration.

"He was," says Mr. Morse, as he closes the work before us: "a man who impressed his ability upon all who met him; so that the abler the man and the more experienced in judging men, the higher did he rate Franklin when brought into direct contact with him; politicians and statesmen of Europe, distrustful and sagacious, trained readers and valuers of men, gave him the rare honor of placing confidence not only in his personal sincerity, but in his broad fair-mindedness, a mental quite as much as a moral trait.

It is hard, indeed, to give full expression to a man of such scope in morals, in mind, and in affairs. He illustrates humanity in an astonishing multiplicity of ways at an infinite number of points. He, more than any other, seems to show us how many-sided our human nature is. No individual, of course, fills the entire circle; but if we can imagine a circumference which shall express humanity, we can place within it no one man who will reach out to approach it and to touch it at so many points as will Franklin. A man of active as well as universal good-will, of perfect trustfulness towards all dwellers on the earth, of supreme wisdom expanding over all the interests of the race, none has earned a more kindly loyalty. By the instruction which he gave, by his discoveries, by his inventions, and by his achievements in public life he earns the distinction of having rendered to men varied and useful services excelled by no other one man; and thus he has established a claim upon the gratitude of mankind so broad that history holds few who can be his rivals.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians. By the Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1889. Crown 8vo. pp. vii ,399. $1.50.

The style of this book is popular rather than critical, homiletic rather than scholarly and exegetical. It is full of good things, valuable hints to the preacher, and good sense for the average reader of

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sermons. The author is doubtless familiar in a large degree with the scholarship which has been manifest in critical work on the epistle, and attempts to popularize some of its conclusions. Occasionally he falls into absurd errors, as when he argues for the resurrection of mortal bodies, plays with fancies in his comment on the passage relating to "baptism for the dead," and gives his feeble words touching the "all who die in Adam" and are to be "made alive in Christ." But as a whole the book is freighted with good thoughts and wholesome truths, well expressed. Dr. Dods takes us to the Corinth of Paul's day, shows us its greatness and its degeneracy, and gives us a vivid picture of the thought and the morals with which Christianity came in contact and on which it wrought marvelous changes. Not a little of the interest which may attach to such an accurate view of life in Corinth and the work of the Gospel there, arises from the fact that in spite of strenuous effort to discredit the books of the New Testament, this Epistle to the Corinthians is confessed by the most unsparing critics to have been from the pen of Paul, and to have reached us snbstantially as he wrote it. The book is commended as having much that is helpful to all classes of readers.

American Religious Leaders. Jonathan Edwards. By Alexander V. G. Allen, D.D. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp. xi, 401. $1.25.

Prof. Allen has no sympathy with the Latin theology of which Jonathan Edwards was the most fearless and consistent exponent among Protestants of modern times; but with great admiration of Edwards' wonderful abilities he has given us such a representation of the man as shows him to have written without prejudice and from an earnest purpose to draw a faithful portrait. What Jonathan Edwards thought, and how he put his thoughts into the formula of logic, must be learned from his works, which were more closely studied when he was an authority in theology than they are in these days of marked departure from his theories. But the character and spirit of the man are disclosed by Prof. Allen, as also the steps in the maturing of his theories, and the progress of his career as a preacher.

Born of a race of New England ministers, and dying at fifty-five years of age, in 1758, Edwards lived in a time of intense religious excitement, in the agitation of which he was the most conspicuous agent, and one of the greatest personal sufferers from the inevitable reaction. From childhood he gave himself to thinking on great subjects and at first came near landing in pantheism. From the idea that "space is God," he went on to the belief that God's will is in all things as the absolute power, that evil is due to the withdrawal of God's care, and that He is as much engaged in providing hell torments for those He has cast off as He is in saving the elect. At first this doctrine of God's active hate in tormenting those whom He created on purpose that He might damn them was repulsive to him. "It used to," he said, "appear like a horrible doctrine to me." But he overcame his

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repugnance, and although his views of God's decrees seemed to exclude all idea of human volition in salvation, he was the first revival preacher in America. His preaching to sinners seems to have had as its main purpose the keeping up of a perpetual dread of God in their minds. "As you hate God," he said to them, "he will hate you forever. He will become a perfect enemy, with a perfect hatred, without any love or pity or mercy." Man is wholly devoid of a spiritual nature until God especially adds it. For a brief moment Adam possessed, by nature, the spiritual faculty, but when he sinned the divine nature was at once withdrawn from him and from all his posterity. "The merely human was left standing by itself, superior only in its intelligence to the brute creation, or in its greater capacity for evil." And yet, Adam had no special freedom of will to prevent his sinning, for "if Adam had possessed a self-determining power of the will, it would have implied uncertainty as to how he would act, and thus made impossible the divine foreknowledge." There was no alternative in Edwards, mind,—he was sure that God had decreed to permit Adam's sin; and in his own words, "Sin, if it be permitted, will most certainly and infallibly follow." Sin, therefore, could not possibly have been avoided. And Edwards seems to have had no difficulty in considering retribution for sin, and endless retribution, at that, a just thing in God! Only God's election of some to be exempt from this doom, can save them. And comparatively few are thus elected. "The bigger part of men who have died heretofore have gone to hell," he says; and again and again he reiterates the statement that out of the great mass of mankind only a few will be saved. That this can in any way be averted, that man may choose to obey, and through penitence may find acceptance with God, Edwards will not allow. The God of the Arminians was to him no God at all. God can in no sense be affected by any action of man. He would be less than God if He could.

And yet, Jonathan Edwards was a man of kindly spirit. His domestic life was happy, and he had a warmth of heart for those around him. Strange, how strange, that such a man could believe such horrible things of God.

The publishers of this series, the volume before us being the first, are laying the religious world under lasting obligations by the issuing of biographies of such men of worth who ruled, in their day, the thoughts of men about them concerning the loftiest possible themes, God and destiny.

Natural Religion. The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1888. By F. Max Müller, K. M. London and New York, Longman's, Green & Co. 1889. Crown 8vo. pp. xix, 608.

The "foundation" of the "Gifford Lectureship" is unique. "I wish," says the founder, "natural theology to be treated by my lecturers as astronomy or chemistry is, as a strictly natural science, the greatest of all possible sciences, indeed in one sense the only science."

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And he especially provides that "the lecturers shall be subjected to no test of any kind, and shall not be required to take any oath or emit or subscribe any declaration of belief, or to make any promise of any kind; they may be of any denomination whatever, or of no denomination at all (and many earnest and high-minded men prefer to belong to no ecclesiastical denomination); they may be of any religion or way of thinking, or, as is sometimes said, they may be of no religion, or they may be so-called skeptics or agnostics or free-thinkers, provided only that the 'patrons' will use diligence to secure that they be able, reverent men, true thinkers, sincere lovers of and earnest inquirers after truth."

Professor Muller rightly calls the foundation of such a lectureship "a sign, and a very important sign, of the times." Those who have regarded Max Muller as wholly devoted to "philology," in which field of research he has won unprecedented fame, will be surprised that in the autobiographical sketch which constitutes a large portion of his first lecture in the book before us, he gives to his life a different interpretation. His aim and the tendency of his thought has been, he affirms, to be a philosopher and a theologian, and his study of language and ancient literature has been pursued as a necessary introduction to the science of thought and of religion. And he regards his appointment to this lectureship as giving him "an opportunity, and a splendid opportunity, for summing up the whole work of my life."

In treating his theme, Prof. Muller steps on new ground, ignoring the common point of view in past treatises, and standing on that of human history and human language, a psychological rather than a physical basis. His work is largely a matter of definition, and his survey of the numerous definitions of religion is keenly critical, while it is also catholic and constructive. His own definition is: "Religion consists in the perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man." And his estimate of it is, that "it is religion in its truest sense which opens our eyes and makes us perceive the noumenal in the phenomenal, the supernatural in the natural, and thus changes the very veil of nature into a never-ceasing revelation of the divine." And yet he holds that, as in Buddhism, history demonstrates religion to be possible without faith in or worship of a personal God. Natural objects, as pre-eminently the sun, are regarded by him as having been the first objects of worship. "Among most nations, also, so far as historical evidence enables us to judge, a belief in many superhuman beings preceded a belief in one superhuman being, and for a long time what seem to us two contradictory beliefs, a belief in one and a belief in many gods were held to be perfectly compatible in the same religion." While revealed religion may be a reality, and the question of the possibility of revelation is, he declares, an ever intrusive one, he questions whether, on account of the fallibility of all records, it has ever been of advantage, and strenuously opposes the idea of miracles. Nevertheless he is clear and explicit in his avowal, "that there is no re-

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ligion in the whole world which in simplicity, in purity of purpose, in charity and true humanity, comes near to that religion which Christ taught to his disciples." But he does not commit himself to the advocacy of any particular phase of religion, but rather keeps close to his conception of what was the purpose of his course of lectures, thus expressed: "It was to be a survey of the materials which exist, and many of which have but lately been brought to light, for studying the origin, growth, and in many cases, the decay also of religious ideas."

In view of the fact that there is a large and seemingly increasing number who are discussing religious problems with much earnestness, we know of no work which is so thorough at the very foundation of the subject as this before us; and we commend it to their attention, and especially to the careful study of all Christian ministers.

Christian Theism: Its Claims and Sanctions. By D. B. Purrington, LL.D., Vice President and Professor of Metaphysics in West Virginia University. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889, 8vo. pp. 303. $1.75.

Both in method and in style this volume is a great improvement on many that have been issued on the same subject. It is learned without being so technical that the average reader cannot understand it; it is thorough, yet clear, simple and effective. In the Introduction, giving a general outline of the subject, Dr. Purrington starts off with the declaration that Christian Theism is a fact, momentous, positive, persistent and fruitful. That it has a history and challenges investigation. "It has just two themes: first, *Theism*, or evidences concerning the being and nature of God; second, *Revelation*, or evidences concerning the inspiration of the Bible." The first of these is discussed in the book before us; the second will be the theme of a second volume.

Twelve chapters follow the introduction, and in these are set forth the following themes; Intelligence in Nature, or, the Eutaxiological Argument; Volition in Nature, or the Teleological Argument; the Personality of God, or, the Intuitive Argument; the Goodness of God, or the Historical Argument; the Unity of God, or the Monistic Argument; Infinity of God, or, the Causal Argument; Anti-Theistic Errors; Evolution and Christian Theism; Immortality. The very titles to these chapters indicate at once that an old subject is to be dealt with in a fresh and effective way. This feeling increases as we begin to read. The argument is close, the illustrations of the knotty points are numerous, simple, yet vigorously presented and convincing. No objection is passed over slightingly, but each is met, considered, disposed of, and the argument proceeds to its climax of demonstration. The following is an illustration of this fact, as also a specimen of the way in which strong common sense backs up irresistible logic. We take this from the chapter on Immortality:

PRESUMPTION AGAINST IMMORTALITY.

1. PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION.

Death destroys the body. The soul is not traceable thereafter. Hence it has been argued that all is destroyed with the body. This argument is not conclusive.

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(1) *Disappearance is not destruction.* A thing may exist and not be manifest. It may cease to be manifest without being destroyed. Latent heat is just as much *heat* when latent as when manifest. Even so death may interrupt the visible manifestations of the human spirit, but its destruction must not be thence inferred.

(2) *Bodily mutilation affects not the soul.* Limbs may be amputated, physical functions cut off, and senses suspended, and still the operations of the soul may proceed with unabated regularity, and even with increased vigor. If the partial destruction of the body does not affect the soul, its total destruction may not.

(3) *The soul may not be divisible.* The body is. It can be returned to its original elements—carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, iron and the like. Hence its mortality; it can die. But there is no evidence that the human spirit is composed of parts, or is in any way divisible. Possibly Bishop Butler may go too far in arguing its absolute indiscerptibility; and yet the unity of the human spirit is accredited both by universal consciousness and by profound metaphysical research. Until the soul can be analyzed as the body can, it will not do to infer the destruction of the one from the decomposition of the other.

2. PHYSICAL DEPENDENCE.

It is claimed that the soul is born with the body, developed with it, manifested through it, limited by it, dependent upon it, inseparable from it; and hence the soul must perish with the body. Against this argument there are two objections.

(1) *It is contrary to analogy.* It proceeds upon the supposition that the present fleshy environment of the soul is its only possible habitat. But the analogies of nature are against this view. The caterpillar, chrysalis and butterfly are marvelously unlike in development, mode of life, and relationship; and yet they are one and the same being. So the life of the disembodied human spirit may be totally unlike that in its earthly tabernacle, even as the butterfly transcends the worm.

(2) *The soul is not essentially dependent on the body.* For certain of its functions in sense-perception it doubtless is. But for other and higher functions, such as memory, imagination, thought and reason, the soul acts of itself without the body. These processes would not cease even though the senses were paralyzed, and all communication with the material world suspended.

3. EMPIRICISM.

The empiricist argues that, since the immortality of the soul is utterly beyond our experience, and since no disembodied spirit has ever appeared or testified to its truth, we have a right to infer that the soul is not immortal. This position is not well taken.

(1) *It is unreasonable.* It demands physical proof of a spiritual fact, and because of the absence of such proof, it denies the existence of the fact.

(2) *It goes too far.* If our lack of experience concerning disembodied human spirits forms a presumption against their existence, it must go equally against that of other spirits. The same argument that would disprove immortality would likewise blot out God, angels and devils. But in blotting out God it renders the first existence of human spirits impossible, and thus merges itself into materialism. Experience is not the only avenue of conviction. If we know the soul to be superior to the body, even while connected with it, why may not that superior existence continue when the body shall have been dissolved?

Manuals of Faith and Duty. No. V. Salvation. By Orello Cone, D.D., President of Buchtel College, Akron, Ohio.

No. VI. The Birth from Above. By Rev. Charles Follen Lee. Boston. Universalist Publishing House. 1889. pp. 101, 104. 25 cents each.

In No. V. Dr. Cone treats an almost threadbare theme with originality, freshness and vigor. Religion, he says, has its foundation in the fact of the consciousness of disturbed relations in the higher realm of man's being. A want of harmony with the higher power, a sense of sin sends man in search of hope and help. Salvation is deliverance from certain evil conditions, which in a spiritual being issue in the consciousness of sin. For the distinctness and energy of its conception of salvation, the religion of the Old Testament is preeminent among the religions of antiquity, and its explanation is found wholly in connection with the theocratic idea. Salvation was ob-

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tained by securing the Divine favor, and that favor was secured by the offering of some valuable possession. This was the early Jewish thought. Later, the Prophets represented forgiveness as God's act of grace, conditioned on the repentance of the people, manifest in their abandonment of sinful conduct. But the favor thus manifested was intended for the Israelites alone. The religion out of which the idea of such favor sprung was local and national, and its benefits, whatever they were, were thus restricted.

Jesus came to earth with a "world-religion," and his doctrine of salvation partook of the universality which characterized his religion. Dr. Cone makes an able presentation of the relation of this universal religion to the Old Testament, to the Ethical Factor, and to the Religious Factor. Let any sinner, anywhere, set himself in right relation with God, in duty, in love, in righteousness, and to him has come the salvation which Jesus taught. The Pauline doctrine is next considered, then that which distinguishes the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Salvation and Science, and Secular Salvation. The work closes with a section on the Universality of Salvation, in which notice is taken of the doctrine of probation, and the theory that man may fail to reach the highest and the best by reason of the freedom of his will.

Dr. Cone's method of presenting the subject is unique, and the Manual will take high rank, especially with those of scholarly taste and habit.

No. VI. "The Birth from Above," was evidently written in the atmosphere of prayer and devout meditation, and its perusal cannot fail to lift the careful reader into the same region of spiritual joy and peace.

"It will no doubt be asked by some," says the author, "Why was not this manual entitled *The New Birth?* The answer is, because *The Birth from Above* was considered a more comprehensive and suggestive title. We have no quarrel with the phrase 'New Birth,' but we are satisfied that the one we shall substitute for it deserves the preference. In the Scriptural passage most often cited in connection with the subject of which we are to treat, it has the sanction of the original, as the marginal reading, both in the common version and in the revision, bears witness; and we feel that upon due reflection our choice of a title will commend itself to all. Thus the Greek word rendered *again* in the common version and *anew* in the revision, may with equal correctness be rendered *from above*. The reader will perceive then, that to say a man must be 'born from above,' if he would 'see' or 'enter into' the Kingdom of God, means not only that he must be *born again* or *anew* but that, as our Lord teaches, his rebirth involves heavenly agencies, or the operations of the Holy Spirit."

If such a "birth" seems "mysterious," 'tis matched by scores of analogies in other departments of life, the reality of which both as to their source and operations no one can dispute. A Divine Kingdom has been set up, and men can have citizenship in it only as they renounce allegiance to a lower order and rule of conduct. It is a spir-

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itual kingdom, and it does its work in us only as it subordinates our powers and loves to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the direct counsel and guidance of our Heavenly Father. The sections on "Conversion and the Work of the Holy Spirit," and "Illustrative Examples," are admirable as Scripture exposition and application, and the entire manual cannot fail of being a helpful auxiliary in reaching that height of true living which forms its theme.

The Universalist Church is to be congratulated that the Publishing House has put into such handy form and at such low price, these helpful books. They should be circulated by the thousands among our own people and among those whose ideas of our belief are not obtained from friendly sources.

The Struggle for Immortality. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp. 245. $1.25.

This book is made up of seven essays: What is a Fact? Is God Good? What Does Revelation Reveal? The Struggle for Immortality; The Christianity of Christ; The Psychical Opportunity; The Psychical Wave; several of which have appeared in the *North American Review* and *The Forum.* They all bear the characteristic remarks of the writer, an incisive, antithetic, brilliant style. The pith of the volume is the fourth essay, on "The Struggle for Immortality," from which the collection takes its title, and to which the other themes are treated as necessarily related. It seems to us that it stands in strong contrast, in its pessimism, to the hearty optimism of the essay "Is God Good?" The drift of the article is toward the conditional view of the subject; not as characterizes the so-called and now quite popular conditional view, a personal acceptance of the Christ of the creed, but a deduction from "the survival of the fittest" doctrine, a something to be earned by the individual by direct spiritual culture during mortal years. Just what quantity and just how manifest does not appear, but rather this vague general statement is supposed to convey to our minds its grounds and expectations: Immortality "is not property, but a gift. This gift is offered to you or me upon conditions which we can accept or deny at will. The founder of our religion makes, we may say that he constitutes, the conditions. Everlasting life is, in fact, according to this religion, bestowed by Jesus upon the human soul. The consequence of declining this gift and its conditions would seem to be logically, if not theologically, wrapped in the phrase, 'everlasting death.'" But "everlasting life," which is a New Testament phrase, is never a synonym for "immortal life" or "immortality," but for "spiritual life," a qualitative, not a quantitative phrase; while "everlasting death," whatever it may be interpreted to mean, is not a New Testament phrase. Immortality, in the Scriptures, is conditioned on our having been made, not on what we have done; it is not bestowed by Jesus Christ, although the truth of it is "brought to light" by him in his "counterworking" or "abolishing" death. Mrs. Stuart Ward's theory is based on a wholly false assumption of the teachings of the New Testament.

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The essay "Is God Good?" wakens our admiration. The extremest pessimistic objections are stated, and they are black enough. But against them all is this fact: the souls that suffer most trust most; the hearts most deeply tried, love God the most intensely; the chronic helpless and crushed believe that God is good. Speculations, theories, difficulties, cannot overcome the soul's instinct.

Essays on the Work entitled Supernatural Religion. Reprinted from the Contemporary Review. By J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Bishop of Durham. London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1889. 8vo. pp. iv, 324. $2.50.

This is a reprint, as the title states, of a series of papers published fourteen or fifteen years ago; but on account of their great influence and popularity, it is fortunate that they have been brought by the author into this more permanent and convenient shape. It was the object of the author of "Supernatural Religion" to antagonize the early date and historical character of the four Gospels, and throw discredit on Christianity as a revealed Religion. Dr. Lightfoot shows that much of what the author of the anonymous book has written is the product of ignorance, if not of disingenuousness. Aside from his special antagonism of his opponent, the Bishop also evinces such a broad and solid acquaintance with the field of early Christian history, including its literature, that every student of the New Testament Canon will find his essays of permanent value.

After the introductory essay, the following eight themes are discussed: The Silence of Eusebius; The Ignatian Epistles; Polycarp of Smyrna; Papias of Hierapolis (two papers); the later School of St. John; the Churches of Gaul; Tatian's Diatessaron; and an Appendix of Discoveries illustrating the Acts of the Apostles. One result of the publication of the essays in the Contemporary was the modification by the author of "Supernatural Religion," in later editions of his work of some of the positions which Bishop Lightfoot had shown to be untenable. To these modifications amounting in some instances to an entire abandonment of his position, attention is called by foot notes in the volume before us. In these days of loose, nonsensical talk about the New Testament Canon, the impossibility of the miraculous, etc., it is refreshing to be able to know just what are the real facts in regard to the books of the New Testament, and how utterly baseless are some of the assertions and pretended proofs of those who antagonize the authenticity and genuineness of the New Testament Record. Clergymen will be well repaid by familiarizing themselves with the facts which are so admirably arranged and presented in this volume.

The Story of the American Sailor, in active service on Merchant Vessel and Man-of-War, by Elbridge S. Brooks. Boston. D. Lothrop Company. 4to. pp. 336. $2.50.

Considering the great importance of our Merchant and Naval Service it is singular that this is the first attempt to make a record of the rise and development of the American sailor. Mr. Brooks has done

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his work with great care and conscientiousness, and made a book which cannot fail to take rank as a standard authority, and a delight to young America, who, from George Washington down to the present, is charmed by the possibilities and romance of "life on the ocean wave." In these pages we see the advancing conquests of the old discoverers and navigators; the career of the lawless pirates once infesting our waters; the recklessness and risks of the smugglers; the great prowess of a hastily improvised navy in the wars of the Revolution and of 1812, with the quick and thorough destruction of British commerce in both those wars by the hardy and daring privateersman; the lesson taught by Bainbridge to insolent Algiers; the growth and commanding influence of the merchant marine in the days of its successful competition with the commerce of the world; the hazards of Arctic discoveries and rescue; the long voyages of the whaler, and the constant perils of the fisheries; the valor of the navy in 1861; and the luxurious equipment and fine achievements of the American yachtsmen. The fine pen pictures drawn by Mr. Brooks are handsomely supplemented by the numerous spirited illustrations which beautify his pages. There is also a comprehensive chronology of the achievements of the United States on the seas and lakes, a list of the best one hundred books on the American sailor, and an excellent index. The publishers have done their part in an elegant and substantial manner.

The Story of the American Soldier in War and Peace. By Elbridge S. Brooks. Boston. D. Lothrop Company. 4to. pp. 350. $2.50.

This is a fitting and delightful companion to "The American Indian," and "The American Sailor," by the same author. Beginning with the strifes between the Indians and the Mound Builders and Defenders, Mr. Brooks takes us through the wars of discovery and conquest by the Conquistadores, and so on to the Colonial struggles against the red men, the French, the Spaniard, the Swede, the Dutch, and others who have grasped beyond their rights and insulted and annoyed their neighbors. The chapter on the "Minute Men and Continentals," beginning the brief but comprehensive story of the Struggle for Independence, is a valuable statement of the patriotism, valor and determination of the people in holding themselves in readiness to rally at a minute's notice, to the defence of their common liberties. Men from the fields, the shops, the lawyers' offices, all departments of business, and all kinds of professions, became an army that after severe and often baffled contest, forced the proudest and best equipped army on the globe to quit the field and grant them their independence of the Mother Country. The war of 1812 is dwelt upon as fully as space will warrant, as is also the Mexican war, and then, as was to have been expected, and as the greatness of the occasion demanded, a description of the citizen soldier, and his battles in the Civil war of 1861–1865 takes up the remainder of the book. The soldier becoming citizen again is not forgotten, but his industry, fidelity to the highest duties, charity for his late foes, and unrivalled suc-

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cess in business, trade and whatever makes the nation's prosperity and greatness, receive full notice and praise. Each of these portions of American soldier life has been presented in forms of varied attractiveness before, but Mr. Brooks has for the first time brought them within the compass of one volume. It was a much needed work, and it has been well done and in a spirit of generous criticism and sympathy. The Appendices, first of the Achievements of the American Soldier, chronologically arranged; and second, The Best Hundred Books on the American Soldier, are of great value; and the full and complete index puts every item of information at once in reach of the reader. The illustrations are numerous and of high order of talent, and the mechanical make up of the volume is attractive, neat and substantial. Our Book Commission will be sure to include Mr. Brooks' writings in its list of instructive, entertaining and wholesome reading for all ages, but especially attractive and suitable for the young.

Standish of Standish. A Story of the Pilgrims. By Jane G. Austin. Boston & New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp. vi, 422. $1.25,

Whoever would know the daily life of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, with their troubles and cares, their severe sicknesses and fearful mortality, their hunger and cold, the perils of the elements and the more dreaded perils from the red men, will gain the coveted knowledge by reading this book. The author made herself thoroughly familiar with the history of the days she here attempts to describe. She has studied the character of the leading men and women in the colony, and she uses with ease the peculiar forms of expression, the quaint words and phrases of the people who planted the possibilities of the Great Republic. Bradford and Brewster and Winslow and Standish, all seem real to us as the pages present them moving about their daily duties, counselling, laboring, taking up arms together for the defence of their rights and their homes. Standish stands out from the page with true nobility of soul; a bluff commander, every inch a soldier, yet tender hearted as a woman and true to his ideas of right, he was a tower of strength to the handful of imperilled men and women, "The-Sword-of-the-White-Men," as the Indian rightly named him. His devotion to his wife while she lived, and to her memory when she was laid under the sod, was beautiful and true, and his subsequent marriage with his cousin Barbara was in full accord with the law of fitness. Of course John Alden and Priscilla Molines are here with all the romance attaching to the tradition that "the course of true love ne'er runs smooth," and the final outcome ever due to pure affection, their happy union. Read the book and you will understand better the perils encountered by the settlers of New England, the sacrifices which were at the foundation of our precious privileges and liberties. Our "Book Commission" will sadly overlook a good thing if they fail to enter this book on their list with hearty commendation.

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The Blue and Gray Series. Taken by the Enemy. By Oliver Optic. With Illustrations. Within the Enemy's Lines. By Oliver Optic. Boston. Lee & Shepard. 1889, 1890. 12mo. pp. 344, 349. $1.50 per volume.

These are the first and second volumes of a series to be completed in six volumes. Mr. Adams, who has won great fame as a writer of books for boys, now gives them a new treat in stories connected with our late civil war. He writes, however, in no warlike spirit, with no wish to rekindle the fires of strife or revive the bitter memories of our days of peril. "Though written from the Union standpoint, the author hopes that the stories will not be found unfair or unjust to those who looked from the opposite point of view." He "believes that all his events were possible, and that every one of them had its parallel in the actual occurences of the historical period of which he writes." To say that the two books here named are interesting, is simply to declare that the author "has not forgotten his cunning," and that his reputation remains well established. The publishers have put the volumes in handsome type, bound them in blue and gray, with emblematic dies on the covers, and clear and appropriate illustrations of the text. Fathers who would be sure of buying what will interest their boys will run no risk in getting these volumes.

American War Ballads and Lyrics. A Collection of the Songs and Ballads of the Colonial Wars, the Revolution, the war of 1812-15, the war with Mexico and the Civil war. Edited by George Cary Eggleston. 2 vols. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Small 4to. pp. viii, 226; viii, 278.

This collection is not, of course, exhaustive, and one misses a few songs which were more popular during the civil war and are now, in Grand Army Posts and at camp fires, than are some which here have place; but the difficulties of selection were, we can well imagine, not a few, and on the whole the work is admirably done. The selections have been taken from the entire literature of this kind, from the Colonial wars to the Great Rebellion. The first period is represented by "Lovewell's Fight" and "The Lay of Braddock's Men." A much fuller list illustrates the songs of the Revolution; the war of 1812 and the war with Mexico, are well prepresented, while the stirring songs of the army and navy during the struggle for the preservation of the Union, fill, as was to have been expected, by far the largest space. Confederate and Union songs are alike given, and the selection has been so skilfully made that all phases of the war and of the popular feeling are well represented. Some of the selections are genuine poetry of the highest order, as tried by the highest test, while others, judged by the accepted standards, have no poetic element in them, but none the less did the latter take hold of the popular mind and fire the heart with patriotism. The publishers have issued these volumes as a part of the Knickerbocker Nugget Series, and to say this is to give the assurance that they are beautifully manufactured, both in print and illustrations, and in neat and tasty binding.

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The Heroes of the Crusades. By Amanda M. Douglas. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard. Crown 8vo. pp. 349. $1.50.

To her fame as a writer of fiction the author now adds the honor of an interesting biographer, and a delineator of scenes in one of the wonderful events which convulsed all Europe. Peter the Hermit, Hugh of Vermandois, Godfrey of Bouillon, Tancred, Louis VII. of France, Baldwin III., Guy of Lusignan, Richard the Lion Heart, Saladin and St. Louis, are the subjects sketched. An introductory chapter on the Spirit of the Crusades is a comprehensive resume of the condition of affairs at that period in Europe and the Holy Land, and of the particular causes leading to the attempted rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. The work is well done and will stimulate the reader to desire to know more of this great struggle. The volume is attractive in its brown and gold binding, large and clear type and numerous illustrations.

In the Golden Days. A Novel by Edna Lyall. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1889. 12mo. pp. viii, 374. $1.50.

Since the appearance of those two gems, "Donovan" and "We Two," whatever Edna Lyall writes is looked for with eagerness. "In the Golden Days" does not disappoint us. Its scene, laid in the stormy times of English history, the days of Charles, and Jeffreys, and Algernon Sydney, is worked up with wonderful skill, and the thread of romance holding the story together is as brilliant as words can frame. There is just enough historic reality manifest in quaint ways and words descriptive of both high and low life to reveal to us the peculiarities of those days of tyranny and wrong, and to make lovely and reverent the humane characters which flourished in the midst of such coarse brutality and animalism. Hugo, the hero of the story, is a rare man, a gentleman among boors, a Christian among scoffers and villains, a saint among perjured thieves and murderers. Randolph is the incarnation of all that is low, base and mean. Joyce is loveliness in rare personification, adorned with all gentle graces, true as steel and uncompromisingly loyal to the demands of duty and love. The parts of the minor characters are well sustained and the plot of the story progresses and reaches its close, having held the attention of the reader from the beginning. The Christian lessons of patience, forbearance, forgiveness, constancy, taught in "The Golden Days" make it worthy of being highly commended by our "Book Commission."

The New Eldorado. A Summer Journey to Alaska. By Maturin M. Ballou. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. Crown 8vo. pp. xi, 352. $1.50.

These three hundred and fifty-two papers are full of interesting and important information touching our far-off possessions, once supposed to be too cold and inhospitable for any of the advances and comforts

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of civilization, but now known to be well adapted to the production of all that is needed for human sustenance and comfort. The mean temperature of Sitka, Mr. Ballou tells us, is higher than that of Boston, and the climate is, in fact, about that of Newport, R. I. Alaska, he shows, has wonderful facilities for agriculture, its gold mines yield largely, and its fisheries are profitable. Mr. Ballou is an active and quick observer, and he has crowded his pages with accounts of glaciers, wild men, seal fishing, bear hunting, fish canning, Aleutian antiquities, wild flowers, precious stones, hideous customs and intemperate habits of the natives, and many other things which complete a perfect picture of a country destined to play a large part in our future trade, commerce and immigration.

Universalist Calendar for 1890. Universalist Publishing House, 30 West Street, Boston. 50 cents.

This new and beautiful Calendar has been designed and arranged by Mrs. Gertrude Rugg Field, and should be seen in every home. It is attractive, ornamental, and highly useful. It is adorned by an excellent picture of the beautiful Goddard Chapel at Tufts College, and portraits of Rev. Drs. Demarest and Gunnison. The Calendar has sixty clearly printed pads, which contain besides the dates, references to appropriate Scripture readings for each day, notices of ecclesiastical festivals and National holidays, changes of the moon, eclipses, equinoxes, etc. The Compiler has furnished original reading matter, which appears at intervals through the year; and about one hundred and fifty pertinent quotations are made from Universalist writers, many of which now appear for the first time in print. They have been selected with great care and are intended to show the influence of Universalism, not only upon theology, but upon human life in its various phases and needs. On receipt of the price, fifty cents, the Calendar, neatly and securely packed, will be sent to any post office address. Let the orders be numerous and prompt.

Travels and Adventures of Little Baron Trump and his Wonderful Dog Bulger. By Ingersoll Lockwood. Illustrated by George Wharton Edwards. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard. 4to. pp. 287, $2 00.

We have here the strange dreams of the Arabian Nights entertainment, and the impossibilities of Baron Munchausen, exaggerated, if such were possible, to the very extreme degree. From beginning to end it is hugely comical. The boys will be delighted with it, and are in little danger of being led to take any of its statements of incident in earnest. The "Dog Bulger" plays a very important part in the story as philosopher, adviser and companion. The illustrations are true delineators of the wonderful scenes and incidents narrated in the text, and are handsome embellishments. Possibly there is a little too much of the story, but the average boy will not be likely to think so.

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The World and Its People. Book I., First Lessons. Book II., Glimpses of the World. Edited by Larkin Dunton, LL.D., Head-Master Boston Normal School. Silver, Burdett & Co. New York, Boston, Chicago. 1889. 12mo. pp. 160, 159. 36 cts. each.

These books appear as Vols. V. and VI. of the Young Folks Library for School and Home. They are intended as supplementary to the ordinary school reading books, and the two before us are admirably adapted to their purpose. The publishers well say:

"It is now conceded by all educators that school instruction should be supplemented by reading matter suitable for use by the pupil both in the school and in the home. Whoever looks for such reading must be struck at first with the abundance of what is offered to schools and parents, and then with its lack of systematic arrangement, and its consequent ill adaptation to the needs of young people."

This defect is here supplied, and it is the intention that the series of the Young Folks' Library shall meet the needs of all children and youth of school age, "from those who have just mastered their first primer to those who are about to finish the high school course." The purpose is wise and timely, and we trust that the publishers will meet with the encouragement which their plan deserves.

The Favorite Speaker. Containing fresh selections in poetry and prose, humorous, pathetic, patriotic. For reading clubs, school declamation, home and public entertainments. Containing the selections published in the Reading Club, Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20. By George M. Baker. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard. 16mo. v. p. $1.00.

Mr. Baker has a well established reputation in the line of effort suggested by this book, and therefore his collection may be said to contain the proportions of variety which experience shows to be the most gratifying to those who have the charge of declamations in our schools. A little larger sprinkling of extracts from patriotic and general political speeches and orations would, it seems to us, cultivate a better taste, develop better oratorical powers, be more befitting the American spirit which our schools are supposed to cultivate. The variety in the book before us would seem to be ample to meet the wants of those who desire great diversity. The book is well made and convenient in form and size.

Priest and Puritan. Bretano's. New York. Crown 8vo. pp. 192. Paper. 50 cents.

This anonymous story is well written, has a fine and well-sustained plot and is supremely optimistic in its spirit. The Rev. Charles Foster, a Methodist preacher, his son Ernest, a young man of intelligence and integrity, Father LeGrand, a Catholic priest, and his niece Agnes, are the principal characters in the story. The young man is in love with the papist. The father, zealous in revival efforts and anxious for his son's conversion, is shocked at the growing intimacy between the young people, and the priest sends his fair relative away that she may be beyond the reach of the young heretic. Distance, however, counts for nothing, and the lovers meet, understand each

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other and marry, both parent and guardian becoming reconciled to the match. The Methodist preacher forgets his bigotry, the priest meets him more than half way, and mutual understandings and fraternity follow. The story is good, the spirit which triumphs is truly Christian, but so far as we are able to judge, it is in this story alone, and not in the world of harsh fact that such harmony between papist and protestant is realized.

From Samuel to Solomon. By Charles S. Robinson, D.D. American Tract Society. New York. 12mo. pp. 310. 50 cents.

In twenty-nine lectures or sermons, Dr. Robinson brings Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon distinctly before his readers, giving to each of these worthies his most marked peculiarities of character, and so presenting each as an object-lesson in the enforcing of important truth. The author possesses great wealth of illustration, fine powers of analysis, and makes his sentences brief and pointed. Occasionally we find ourselves out of harmony with some of his theories, but in the main his historical analysis and his expository lessons reveal and en force considerations of the highest wisdom and duty. Preachers will do well to obtain and study this volume.

The Church in Modern Society. By Julius H. Ward. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp. 232. $1.00.

The author is an Episcopal clergyman; his book is dedicated to Bishop Potter of New York, "in whose Episcopate the church is entering into its proper relations with modern society"; and he gives it as his opinion that the Episcopal organization: "Regarded simply from the institutional point of view, provides for the freedom and variety of method by which the whole of society may be reached and directed as if the sole aim and purpose of its members were to become inheritors of the kingdom of heaven." The division of the church into so many bodies is lamented, and the remedy is union in one, and that one the Anglican. This latter is not directly stated, but is not unfairly presumed, from the fact that it alone receives the commendation of having realized or attempted the realization of such union in one diocese, at least, and its being "institutionally" fitted with the best means to that end. To all of which we can only say, as President Lincoln is reported to have said of something else, that "No doubt to those who like that sort of thing it will be the sort of thing that they will like;" but what of those who do not like it, with whose notions of truth its dogmas are in conflict? The existence of sects may be lamentable from some points of view, as our popular form of government may have some elements of weakness compared with other forms; but the advantages far outnumber the inconveniences. Honesty in belief and in the expression of belief is best obtained and secured by the union among themselves of those who agree, and their separate organization from those with whom they differ.

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The Lily Among Thorns. A Study of the Biblical Drama entitled the Song of Songs. By William Elliot Griffis, D.D. Boston & New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 16mo. pp. 274. $1.25.

This is an instructive and profitable study of a portion of the Old Testament collection that has been a puzzle through many generations. Many have found in Solomon's Song a type of Christ, many have seen in it nothing but voluptuous love-making, and many have wondered why it has its place in the Sacred Book, so certain are they that it contains no valuable lesson. Dr. Griffis presents it to us in its true light, and at once the reader will, we think, agree with him in his view of its significance. "The book of Proverbs," says Dr. Griffis, "gives us in precept the image of 'a perfect woman nobly planned,' the Song of Songs gives her in example. . . . . The theory of interpretation upon which we proceed, and which we hold is the ancient one, is that the Canticle is a cantata or series of songs making a dramatic unity, celebrating the triumph of virtue over temptation, and illustrating the contrast between virtuous and sensual love, praising the former and stigmatizing the latter. With the almost overwhelming majority of modern critical scholars, we think that Solomon is not the author of it, but that it was composed after his death, probably by an Ephraimite or northern poet who describes, in character sketches, the ladies of the royal harem in Jerusalem, and a beautiful maiden from the north, a simple, rustic girl from the vineyards, a Shulamite." The poem contrasts the pure simplicity of Galilean country life with the corrupt splendor of the court of Solomon. The king tries to win the girl's maiden love, and to place her in his harem with the other court ladies, or, as they are called, "daughters of Jerusalem." The chief speakers in this cantata are Solomon, the Shulamite, her "beloved" (*dod*) who is a shepherd, and the court ladies. The Shulamite is betrothed to a young mountaineer of her country, and remains faithful to him while away from her home. Notwithstanding all the blandishments of King Solomon, the glittering allurements of palace, city and court life, and of wealth, fame and dazzling glory, even the offer of queenship, she remains unflinchingly loyal to her beloved. A new version of the song is given, and the author's interpretation of its significance seems to be completely justified.

Belief. By George Leonard Chaney. Boston. Roberts Brothers. 1889. 16mo. pp. 159. $1.00.

In the Introductory essay or sermon in this handsomely printed book, Mr. Chaney tells us that the purpose of his volume is to illustrate "The Conservative Purpose and Influence of Radical Christianity." The seven papers which follow are respectively entitled: Man, God, Christ, The Spirit, Hell, Heaven, A Church. Mr. Chaney's style in treating these themes is clear, incisive and unambiguous; and his spirit is always sweet and winning. As a Unitarian production it is conservative, but it is also incomplete. The following from what he has to say of Christ will illustrate what we mean:

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"With me the truth concerning Jesus has come to this (and I have only a curious, scholarly or professional interest in any other discussion about him)—all is told to me in this, that Jesus revealed the truth that the way of spiritual life is unselfish love, and that it is a way in which men can walk, God helping them. That is all. And it *is* all."

Clearly it is not all. It is important, it is true, but it is far from being all. The revelation through Christ is not exhausted when it teaches that man is capable of walking in the way which God requires. It has something to say of God Himself, of His purpose, His provision for immortality, His making certain human destiny. Human comfort demands more than what Mr. Chaney sees. It questions concerning themes which he ignores or treats as simply "curious." If Christ has not revealed God, as well as what is ethically demanded of man, and if that revelation does not bring peace to the bereaved heart, in vain is the declaration: "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." A view of Christ which omits this as part of his mission as a "Teacher sent from God," is sadly incomplete. Mr. Chaney, we repeat, does excellent work so far as he goes, but to complete the New Testament statement concerning Christ he should have gone further.

Indoor Studies. By John Burroughs. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp 256. $1.25.

Mr. Burroughs is a clever writer and is always interesting. His latest work is made up of a series of essays and other papers, covering a somewhat wide range of theme. They are: Henry D. Thoreau, Science and Literature, Science and the Poets, Matthew Arnold's Criticism, Arnold's view of Emerson and Carlyle, Gilbert White's book, a Malformed Giant, eight brief essays, and An Egotistical Chapter. If there is any choice in these papers, the praise belongs to those on Thoreau and Gilbert White's book, both of which are felicitous in style and highly discriminating in criticism. The brief essay, "An Open Door," is a curious exaltation of science above theology, the denial of the existence of a personal God who hears prayer; and contains an avowal that "the wisest man cannot pray, has no need of prayer, because his whole life is an aspiration toward, and a desire for, the supreme good of the world." The example and advice of one who was the wisest that ever trod this earth, is far better, far more satisfactory to the aspiring soul, than is Mr. Burrough's assertion.

Pens and Types, or hints and helps to those who write, read, teach or learn. A new and improved edition, by Benjamin Drew. Boston. 1889. Lee & Shepard. 12mo. pp 214. $1.25.

This is a new and improved edition of a valuable authority on the subject of which it treats. Originally prepared for the especial benefit of persons connected with the press, it has had a wide circulation among all professions, and has become a reference book in some notable institutions of learning. The book gives admirable advice in re-

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gard to writing for the press, and is especially helpful in its rules and suggestions for "proof-reading." The information on punctuation and its rules, orthography, capitalization, italics, reading of Greek, etc., is invaluable to those who prepare matter for the press. Each of the subjects treated is exhaustively explained in detail, with the fullest practical illustrations as to the meaning of the instruction given, and the book is of standard authority, being suitable for a text book, for learners, for professional and newspaper men, for proof readers, and all who wish to have knowledge of matters connected with the English language, and how properly to write. Mr. Drew's long experience has fitted him in a remarkable degree to prepare his work, and no one who is called on to write extensively and correctly, or who wishes to prepare articles for the press, will be fully equipped without this valuable addition to the printer's and writer's library.

Eating for Strength; or Food and Diet in their relation to health and work, together with several hundred recipes for wholesome food and drinks. By M. L. Holbrook, M.D. New York. M. L. Holbrook & Co. 12mo. pp 246. $1.00.

This work contains, according to the analysis made by the author, a complete classification of foods and their uses; the daily requirements of the body; digestion, and how to promote it; how to compose a suitable diet for different conditions; economy of food; tables showing the cost of the nourishment in different articles; the grape cure and how to use it; also on the apple cure, etc., etc. It has many valuable suggestions and calls attention to many facts with regard to the body and to diet which should be more generally understood than they are. In the chapter on Food and Intemperance the author seems to us, who claim some familiarity with the drink problem, to state his position altogether too confidently, and certainly to fall into grave error, when as a physician he puts alcohol, the rankest acrid narcotic known to the chemist, in the list of stimulants, except it be in the sense only in which a whip is a stimulant to a jaded horse, an irritating means of exhausting what vitality may remain.

One Merry Christmas Time. Hurrah for the New Year. A Happy New Year to You. Lee & Shepard. Boston. 1889. 75 cts. each.

This series of neat brochures, three in number, are printed in delicate tints on ivory cardboard, with ribbon bows and silver chain and rings, and are neatly and separately boxed. They are among the prettiest of the very charming things prepared for the holiday season, and are exceedingly appropriate as gifts to both old and young. The designs are felicitously expressive of the sacred and festive characteristics of the season, and also of the months which succeed.

Little Miss Weezy's Sister. By Penn Shirley. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard. 16mo. pp. 159. 75 cents.

This book is written for little girls and will be sure to please them.

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Miss May, whose *nom de plume* is Penn Shirley, is a sister of Sophie May, whose "Dotty Dimple" and "Little Prudy" stories are so entertaining to the little folks. The sister has similar gifts, and "Little Miss Weezy" will be acceptable and welcomed wherever she is introduced. The publishers have given the book a handsome dress and appropriate illustrations.

Osborne of Arrochar. By Amanda M. Douglas. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard. 12mo. pp. iv. 449. $1.50.

A wholesome story, told in a pleasant way and full of interesting incidents. The author indulges in no sensational surprises, but works up her story in a natural manner till the pleasing climax is reached. It will prove to be interesting reading to all who may open its pages; and we commend it to the attention of readers both old and young.

The Universalist Register: Giving the Statistics of the Universalist Church and other Denominational Information, etc. For 1890. Edited by Richard Eddy, D. D. Boston. Universalist Publishing House, 30 West Street. 12mo. pp. 112. 25 cents.

This is the fifty-fifth issue of our Denominational Year Book. It has been compiled with great care, and no efforts have been spared by the publishers and editor, greatly aided by the Secretary of the General Convention, to have it accurate and reliable. It is believed that these ends have been more successfully approximated in this issue than in any preceding year. But it is confessed that the perfection herein desired and possible has not been attained, through failure on the part of preachers and parishes to respond to the appeals for information. Our readers will find, however, the Register as it is, indispensable; that it contains information not to be found elsewhere, and that at the price put upon it it is the cheapest compilation of statistics issued by any of the churches. Every copy of the edition should be purchased.

Essays Doctrinal and Practical. By fifteen Clergymen. With an Introduction by H. W. Thomas, D. D. Edited by Orello Cone, D. D., President of Buchtel College. Boston, Universalist Publishing House, 1889. 12mo. pp. VI., 328. $1.00.

The themes and authors of this handsome and extremely low-priced book, are the following: But Yet a Child of God, by Rev. J. Smith Dodge, Jr.; The Historic Context of the Bible, by Rev. A. N. Alcott; The Reconstruction of Opinion Concerning the Scriptures, by Rev. Henry Blanchard; Continuity of Religion, by E. L. Rexford, D. D.; Christianity and Secularism, by Rev. Alexander Kent; Theories of Biblical Interpretation, by President O. Cone, D. D.; Incarnation, by A. J. Canfield, D. D.; The Outer Rim of New Testament Eschatology, by Professor H. P. Forbes, A. M.; Jesus and Human Nature, by Richmond Fiske, D. D.; The Old Testament in the Sunday School, by Rev. W. E. Gibbs; Salvation and its Agencies, by Rev. C. E. Waite; The Permanent Value of the Bible, by C. W. Tomlinson, D. D.; Evolution and Christianity, by Charles Fluhrer, D. D.;

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The Authority of Jesus, by Rev. Marion D. Shutter; Elements of Religion: a Series of Hints, by J. M. Pullman, D. D.

Not having time and opportunity for a thorough reading of this volume, we selected three of the essays at random, and have given some attention to their teachings. Mr. Dodge's paper is a fresh and charming statement of the truth that religion is based on certain spiritual powers, natural to the soul, and can never be permanently disturbed by supposed conflicts with science, or by temporary doubts. Conflicting opinions of men which for a time mystify, cannot rob the soul of the consciousness of the verities of human life which drive man to seek rest in God. "The purpose of this paper," he says, "is more than aught else, to defend the right to be of that fluttering consciousness which in timid souls touches the hem of the Divine robe, and feels its sickness healed, but trembles lest impetuous Peter or sneering Judas should drive it from the Presence. . . . Whatever comes or goes, man has his birthright still. Perhaps a prodigal, perhaps a martyr, perhaps only a daily drudge; but high or low, afar or near, in this world and in all worlds, neither alien nor outcast, but forever the child of God."

Rev. Mr. Alcott seems to take as the text of his essay, a paragraph from the leaflet issued by the "Publishing House," entitled "Universalist Belief," treating it as a novel declaration, the acceptance of which "necessitates an entirely new theory of this Book, both as to its origin and as to its nature." Greater familiarity with Universalist literature would have prevented this mistake. We have always antagonized the dogma of plenary inspiration; and one of the earliest and most able of our writers, Rev. Stephen R. Smith, in his "Causes of Infidelity Removed," published sixty years ago, classed this unwarranted claim as among the causes of prevailing unbelief. Indeed, the phraseology of the "Winchester Profession" that "the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament contain a revelation," &c., is a disclaimer of belief that "every word in the Bible is God's message." And Mr. Alcott's avowed object in his essay, "to point out a part of the Bible which has always in theory been overlooked and left out," that is, the influence of the age, of circumstance and place on the sacred writer and on his meaning, is far from being novel, but was eminently the work of our fathers, and has been continued by their descendants in the Universalist church; although, as believers in revealed religion, we never have taken the stultifying position that the inspired writers came by "their knowledge of divine truth in no other way essentially than we came by ours." To do this seems to us to empty the words "Revelation" and "Inspiration," of all significance. Prof. Forbes' essay is the result of critical investigation of Jewish prophecy, and careful reading on the subject of the *Parousia*. The New Testament doctrine of the last things, is, he contends, chiefly a statement of the expectation of Christ's reappearance on earth, to secure and establish the results of his Messianic kingdom by bringing this world, or age, to an end, and ushering in the world, or age to

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come. Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians has a more extended vision, embracing the close, even, of the Messianic age, the reconciliation of all souls to God, and God becoming all in all. As a statement of New Testament Eschatology, Prof. Forbes' work is in the same direction with that of Drs. Terry and Curry, of the Methodist Church, and of Dr. Warren in his *Parousia*, as noticed in the QUARTERLY for April and October, 1887.

Waiting on Destiny. A Story for Girls. By Hattie Tyng Griswold. Boston. Universalist Publishing House. 1889. 12mo. pp. 314. $1.00.

This charming story is founded on incidents of life in Wisconsin, as begun by school children some forty years ago, and while dealing with all the members of the family of an early settler, naturally becomes chiefly interested in the life of one of its number, who achieves success as a teacher, has severe trials in her affections, but at last, through fidelity to duty and patient "Waiting on Destiny," not only comes to great intellectual development and rare nobility of character, but finds true rest and satisfactiom of her heart. A goodly number of characters of various gifts and peculiarities are introduced by the author; a stirring scene in connection with the "underground railroad" is presented; an interesting glimpse of th struggle preceding the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency; and much that is romantic and delightful make it difficult for one to laythe book aside when once the reading of it is begun. We predict for it a rapid and large sale. It is gotten up in very handsome and substantial style.

Willis Peyton's Inheritance The Story of a Claim. By Emily L. Sherwood. Boston. Universalist Publishing House. 1889. 12mo. pp. 237, 75 cents,

Mrs. Sherwood's first appearance as a book writer is a flattering one to her, as she has presented an interesting story in a simple and pleasing style, affecting nothing sensational but telling the varied experiences of those whose lives she in large measure portrays, and in a manner that takes possession of the reader and informs as well as entertains him. As a delineation of some social phases of Washington life, the slower than Dickens' "Circumlocution Office" style of Congressional methods of dealing with Claims, and other important business, and the independent spirit manifest by those who, brought up in ease, rise above the adverse circumstances which overtake them, the story is a success, and deserves, as it will doubtless obtain, many readers. The Publishing House have brought it out in handsome style of print and binding.

Notices of several books are unavoidably deferred until the April number.

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Article X.

The Abyss, or Chaos of the Ancient Cosmogonies.

PART II.

The Accadian goddess *Ria* has been already mentioned, as mother of the god *Ea*, or *Hea*, whose name, like hers, is purely Accadian. A tempting etymology of these names would be to give to the final vowel *a* its ordinary signification of "water;" when we should have *ri*, "elevation," plus *a*, "water;" thus "elevation of water," or "wave," which Lenormant gives as the meaning of the name *Ria*. So in the title *Ea*, we should have *e*, "house, abode," plus *a*, "water;" hence, "house of waters," or as proper name, "he who abides upon the waters." Now, although the final vowel *a* in these names is usually regarded merely as phonetic compliment, there is much reason to give it here its ideographic value, as above. We have seen that Ria represented the *ap-su*, or the abyss, and Hea was lord, king of the abyss. He appears in the "Izdhubas Tablets" as god of the Deluge. In the Old Testament he takes the name Nisroch, and was by the Hebrews placed in direct connection with the Ark, or "house of the waters." But that which is without question and most impostant for us here, is his connection with the primal chaos, as set forth by Lenormant, who says:

"It is in this quality that we recognize him on many cylinders, when he is figured in the human form in the attitude of generation, surrounded by the waves of the primordial abyss. He recalls there in a striking manner, 'the Spirit of God carried upon the face of the waters' of Gen. i. 2."[1]

In this character, the notion of Hea, as "he who abides upon the waters," would be quite applicable. But let us go now to the cosmogony of the Hindu Aryans. The subjoined extracts are from Lenormant's version of the account of creations as contained in the "Land of Manu:"

[1] Fragments de Berose, p. 68.

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"That which the spirit alone is able to perceive, . . . having resolved in his thought to cause diverse creatures to emanate from his substance, produced at first the waters, in which he deposited a germ. . . . This germ became an egg of gold, brilliant as a star with a thousand rays, in which the Supreme Being gave birth to himself under the form of Brahma, the eldest of beings." "The waters have been called *Navas*, because they were the product of *Nava* (the Divine Spirit). These waters having been the first place of movement (*aqua*) of *Nara*, he has for this reason been called *Naraana* (he who moves upon the waters). . . . After having abode in this egg one year Brahma, the Lord of creation, by his sole thought, separated it into two parts; and of these he made the heaven and the earth, in the midst of which he placed the atmosphere, the right celestial regions, and the permanent reservoir of waters." "Having divided his body into two parts, the sovereign master became half male and half female, etc."[2]

In his notes to the bishnu Puraua, Prof. Wilson states that the name *Narayana* is otherwise interpreted as: "he whose place of abode is in the deep."[3] In another note he refers to the egg of Brahma, "as the first visible, male being, who . . united in himself the nature of either sex."[4] Finally, the Vishnu Purona itself locates Narayana in the heavens, thus: "The porpoise-like figure of the celestial sphere is upheld by Narayana, who himself, in planetary radiance is seated in its heart."[5] The celestial sphere of the Hindus was represented by the figure of the porpoise, so that Narayana, seated in its heart, must be located in the heavens, as well as the waters produced by him, since he is considered as moving or abiding upon them. That the Hindus regarded the heavens as a celestial sea is proved by the character of the god Varuna; thus, A. Weber refers to "The idea of the celestial sea, Varuna *Oceanos*, encompassing the world," and to the waters of the sky as shining nymphs."[6]

But notice here the exact similarity of characters existing between the Babylonian *Ea*, or *Hea*, and the Hindu *Naraya-*

[2] Manuel Hist. anc. P. iii. pp: 619–621.
[3] Visch Purana, p. 28. Note 2.
[4] Ibid. p. 9. Note 31.
[5] Ibid, p. 230.
[6] Hist. Indian Literature: English Edit., p. 35.

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na. Lenormant cites the title given to Hea of *aur Kinur*, the *Existent Being*, containing the same element as the Hebrew *Jahveh*, or *Jehovah.* His ordinary name, *Ea*, signifies "the abode," and he is represented on the cylinders, as abiding or moving upon the waters of chaos, like the spirit of God in Gen. i. 2. So the Hindu *Narayana* is the Divine Spirit, and his name is variously interpreted as "he that moves upon the waters," or, "whose place of abode is the deep." It is remarkable that precisely the same character appears in the Chinese cosmogony, in connection with the chaos. M. De Pavavey cites M. P. Gaubil, to this effect:

"At the Chinese solar sign *Hiuen—Hiao*, which is that of the "profound" or "deep waters," and corresponds to *Aquarius* of the Greeks, the Chinese make preside the *Ty*, or the deified King *Tchuen-hin*, 'king who rules upon the waters,' and under whose reign some place a deluge." [7]

All this is confirmed by Dr. G. Schlegel, in his great work on Chinese Uranography. As stated by him, Aquarius marked the period of the winter solstice, at which epoch of the year, according to the Chinese cosmogony, the birth of the world and of man took place. The personage who presides at Aquarius, as Schlegel states, is designated by the hieroglyph of "*a man —holding himself upon—the water.*" [8] Compare, then, the notions connected with the Babylonian Hea, the Hindu Nara yana, and the Chinese Tchuenhiu, with the idea in Genesis of the spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters of chaos. That ideas so singular and unusual in their nature, so nearly identical in substance and even in their details, and appertaining to the earliest traditions of these different peoples, were never propagated from one to the other, so wildly separated as they were, must be regarded as morally certain. These notions had been derived, therefore, from a common source, from an absolutely primitive cosmogony, the essential principles of which had been inherited alike, by the oldest civilizations known to history. Indeed, we shall have occasion to notice other details of conception of a very singular nature, inherited also in

[7] De la Sphere et les Constellations, p. 50.

[8] See Uranographie Chinoise, pp. 254, 665.

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common by these ancient and distinctly separated peoples already mentioned.

But we return now to the Hindu cosmogony, as concerns especially the original chaos. In the extracts already presented from the account of creation in the "Laws of Manu," the notion of an androgynous Divinity is quite prominent, and the conceived locality of the primeval waters in the heavens, regarded as a celestial sea, is also well established. The correspondence of these two points with those heretofore developed in the Egyptian and Babylonian systems is sufficiently apparent. As to the union of mind and matter in this chaos, it was undoubtedly a primitive conception in the Hindu system. But philosophical speculation, at a later period, had abstracted mind from matter, and made it the cause of it. Weber has admirably traced the history of these speculations, and accurately stated their results. He goes on to say:

"The idea that most readily presents itself, and which is therefore, in fact, everywhere recognizable as the earliest one, is that of an eternal matter, a chaotic mass, into which order and system are introduced . . . . by virtue of an indwelling capacity of development, or by impulse from without, whereby of course an object or Being existing outside of this chaotic mass is *eo ipso* postulated. This point reached, the idea is then a very natural one to regard this Being, whence the impulse proceeds, as higher and more exalted than the primary chaotic matter itself; and as speculation advances this primary matter continues to sink to a more and more subordinate position, till at length its very existence appears as dependent upon the will of this Being, and so the idea of a creation arises. The steps of this graduation may actually be followed with tolerable distinctness in the Vedic texts."[9]

We see, then, that in the primitive Hindu doctrine, the chaotic material had the indwelling capacity of development; and this presupposes the union of mind with matter, both considered as eternal. The three chief points of the Babylonian and Egyptian doctrine are thus repeated in the Hindu system. The cosmogony contained in the "Laws of Manu" from which we have taken our extracts, shows the work of speculation,

[9] Hist. Ind. Lit. p. 233.

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which had postulated a Spiritual Existence prior to and outside of chaotic matter, being regarded both as its cause and principle of development. The same speculative process which Weber traces in the Vedic texts is to be recognized in other than the Hindu system, to a greater or less extent, in fact, in nearly all the ancient cosmogonies. As regards the Hindu conception of the chaos, however, the original source of information is, of course, the Rig-Veda, from which we desire to present here some additional and confirmatory evidences.

Dr. J. Grill, in a critical treatise, "Die Ezzväter der Menschheit," has developed many important facts bearing directly upon our subject. Referring to the primordial waters, he observed:

"These waters, whether in the heaven or in the ends of the earth, were conceived indifferently as standing, as lake, sea, ocean, or as flowing, as stream, river."

Having referred to the celestial river, under the different names of Ganga, Sindhu, and Sarasvati, he adds:

"But as common Aryan designation of the heavenly stream, that which is especially prominent is the (Vedic) *Rasa*, which appears under the Iranian (Avestic) form of *Rauhu*. . . . . In the Rig-Veda the Rasa is called the Great Mother (*mata mahi*) Protectrice; and the connection leaves no doubt that she was regarded as a cosmical Power, and a heavenly Existence. The Rig-Veda says expressly that the same (The Rasa) flows around high heaven."

Then, as to the title "Great Mother," the author states that:

"It designates the Rasa as the common source of all life, all vegetation, and the Grecian mythology of Asia Minor affords us a striking parallel. We have originally, in fact, in the *μεθάλη μήτηρ Ρέα*, no other than the *mata mahi Rasa* (Great Mother Rasa) of the Vedu." *Ρέα* is etymologically related to Rasa. . . . Rhea was not originally an Earth-goddess, but the goddess of the celestial river; hence the mother of Zeus and of the three Kronides, as well as of the gods generally; hence also a *ήήτηρ ὀρεία*, 'sky-mountain.'" [10]

As will be seen, we have here the Hindu Aryan conception

[10] Ezzvater, etc. pp. 197, 198, 200, and p. 200, note 5.

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of the primeval waters, as definitely located in the heavens, and personified as the Great Mother, the common source of all life. But passing to the Iranian or Persian doctrine of the chaos, Dr. Grill remarks again:

"The Avesta also has its conception of the celestial waters. Considered as standing, they are designated as the lake or sea Vourukasha; but as flowing, the Ardvicura (or Arduism), which flows down from heaven even to the ends of the earth, and which we have before recognized as the personification of the heavenly light and waters.[11]

The really cosmical character of the Vedic Rasa, as well as of the Avestic Vourukasha and Ardvicura, is developed at much length by Dr. Grill; and substantially his main results find material snpport in Dr. Asmus' studies, to which reference has been made, but we have not the space here to enter into details. Suffice it to say that, according to both these writers, everything living has its birth from fire, and both the fire and light originate from water, the primordial waters of chaos. These notions were common to the Veda and the Avesta, the Hindu and Persian Aryans. But it would be impossible in one article to follow out these ground conceptions in their various ramifications. That which is very important, however, is the fact established by these two authors, that not only the watery chaos, but the entire cosmogony of the Aryans of India and Persia centred in the traditional Mount of Paradise, the Meru of the Hindus, the Albordj or Hara-berezaiti of the Iranians. The summit of this mountain was thought to penetrate the heavens in the region of the Pole-star, where was the celestial Paradise of the gods, united by this mount to the terrestrial Paradise, situated at its base, and the abode of the first human pair. It was around the summit of the Paradisiacal mount, we say, that the primordial waters centered. Here was the sea Vourukasha, identified with the sky. Here, under the throne of Ormazd, issued the floods of the Ardvicura, or Arduism, which flowed down to earth supplying all the rivers of the world. Here, finally, was the celestial Gaunga of the Hindus,

[11] Ibid p. 204.

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which poured its waters upon the heights of Meru, flowing down from thence through the three worlds; but the Ganga appears to be only a later name and conception for the Vedic Rasa, otherwise called the Great Mother. As bearing upon the point now before us, we have the statements of Dr. Asmus:

"Mithra dwelt upon the Hasa-berezaiti (Albordj) from whence the light begins, to which it returns again. The souls of the departed ascend this mountain into heaven. Upon it issue the sacred, primeval waters, the sacred Ardvicura. This flows down upon the Mount Hucinduru, which is also a sky mountain. . . . It stands in the midst of the original waters Vourukasha, and bears the tree of life and the tree *all-samen.*"[12]

Thus. the heavenly sea Vourukasha, and the celestial river Ardvicura, are both connected here with the Paradisiacal Mountain. Referring to the Hara-berezaiti, Dr. Grill also remarks that:

"In the Avesta this mountain is the abode of Mithra and of Yima (the first man), and the place from whence the Ardvicura flows down from the heaven, and Yusti leaves no doubt that we must recognize it as a paradisiacal region, and the locality of the tree of life."[13]

Here again the celestial river is made to issue from the heavenly region centering in the traditional Mount of Paradise, as before stated, and as every Indianist knows, it was the same with the celestial Ganges of the Hindus; it poured its floods up the summit of Meru, from whence it flowed down to the earth, dividing itself into the four rivers of the terrestrial Paradise, the abode of the Yasma and Yumi, the first human pair. Moreover, the summit of Meru, penetrating the heaven in the region of the Pole-star, was the generative point of the eight celestial regions; in immediate connection with which, according to the cosmogony of the "Laws of Manu," as before quoted, was located the "permanent reservoir of waters," which had been produced by Nasayana. There can be no doubt, then, from the data now before us, that the Aryans of India

[12] Die Indog. Relig. i. pp. 101, 102. [13] Ezzvater, etc. p. 188.

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and Persia had not only located the original, watery chaos in the heavens, but had conceived its waters as centering in the North Celestial Pole, where the summit of Meru, the abode of the gods, penetrated the sky, thus uniting the celestial Paradise with the terestrial, situated at its base. Indeed, the entire cosmogony of the Hindu and Persian Aryans seems to have centered in the Paradisiacal Mount; and not only the cosmogony, but the geography, also, since the great geographical divisions of the earth, the seven Dwipas of the Hindus, and the seven Kushvars of the Persians, all proceeded from the Sacred Mount as from a common center.

In the Chinese cosmogony, the tortoise plays an important *rôle* especially as it was a common symbol of the Kosmos, its upper shell representing the heaven, and its lower shell the earth. We have three separate legends of the tortoise, all obviously connected with the cosmogony; and one of them shows obviously that the Chinese system also centered in the sacred, Paradisiacal Meru. According to this legend, there was in a certain "Lake of the Stars" an immense tortoise. On his back were inscribed the images of the "Northern Measure" (the seven stars of the Great Bear), of the sun, moon, and the eight celestial regions; while on its under shell were the images of the "five summits" and of the "four canals" (the four paradisiacal rivers). In other words, remarks Dr. Schlegel in giving the legend, on the back of this tortoise was a map of the heavens, and on its lower shell a terrestrial map. Rather, we say, these maps represented the heaven as known to the first men, and as centering in the Mount of Paradise. As for the images on the back of the tortoise, in all Asiatic tradition, the seven stars of the "Great Dipper," the "Northern Measure" of the Chinese, were uniformly associated with the Sacred Mount, the Meru of the Hindus, the Albordj of the Persians. As for the eight celestial regions, we have before said that their common point of generation was the summit of Meru, which penetrated the heaven at the North Celestial Pole. Then as to the images on the under shell, the five summits were those of Meru, and its four supporting mountains, which tradition

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placed in the direction of the cardinal points around Meru. The "four camels" was an ordinary expression for the four rivers of Paradise. The tortoise itself, as before said, was a symbol of the Kosmos, so that this legend affords us direct proof that the Chinese cosmogony centered traditionally, in the Paradisiacal Mount.[14] But in order now to connect the Western cosmogonies with the Sacred Mount of Aryan tradition, we make use of the investigations of M. Obry, who remarks:

"It is understood that Meru, with its four supporting mountains, elevates itself in the central continent, or *Madhya-dwipa*, very high, to which they give the names of *siarga-bumi*, 'the celestial earth,' and more generally those of *Ila-barsha*, *Ila-brita*, *Ila-basta*, 'section, or province of Ila,' daughter and wife of Manu, considered as the mother of the human race."[15]

Having thus connected *Ila* with the Paradisiacal Meru, as the "celestial earth," and with the Mother of Eden, as wife of Manu, the first man, M. Obry continues respecting *Ila:*

"Upon the divers senses of *Ila*, in the Vedic religion, it is necessary to read the learned remarks of E. Burnouf in the Rhagavata-Puvana. One sees there that this name, which, in the Vedas is variously written *Ila*, *Ida*, *Ilra*, or *Ira*, designates primarily the "earth," as Wilson and Lassen had already stated. One will conclude also with A. Kuhn, A. Weber and A. Maury, first, that the Greek name *Ερα* . . . came from the Sanskit *Ira*, and afterwards that also of *Rhea*, being formed from it by metathesis. But since *Ida* (or *Ira*) was a veritable parvâti, or "mountain goddess," will it be hazardous to reckon the type of the name *Ida*, given to mountains in Phrygia and Crete, upon which was adored the *μήτηρ ἰδαια*, or *μήτηρ ὀρεια*, of these countries, either Rhea, Cebele, or Demeter?"[16]

It appears then, that the Vedic *Ira* was: 1. Definitely connected with the Paradisiacal Mount, regarded as a "celestial earth." 2. She was likewise a parvâti, or "mountain goddess," that is, primarily, as it would seem, the Goddess of the Paradisiacal Mount, or of Meru. 3. In this character she was

[14] Note. In my article on "Gau-Eden," published some years since in the *Antiquarian*, I have given this "Legend of the Tortoise," and its explanation, citing all the authorities.

[15] Du Bercean de l'espece humain. p. 22. [16] Ibid. pp. 23, 23. Note 3.

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the original of Rhea, of the Western mythology, to whom was applied the phrase, μήτηρ ὀρεια, that Dr. Grill interprets as "sky-mountain." 4. As wife of Manu, the first man, she was the mother of Eden, and of the human race. 5. Finally, we have to identify her with the Vedic *Rasa*, otherwise called the "Great Mother," and whom Grill regards as the original of Rhea of the West, who, as he holds, was not at first the Earth-goddess, but the goddess of the celestial waters, being thus a personification of the watery chaos, whose connection with the Paradisiacal Mount is thus fully established in the most direct manner.

We believe with M. Lenormant, contrary to the opinion of many Assyriologists, that the Accadian phrase, *Khassak mas Kussa* "Mountain of the East," referred to the Paradisiacal Mount of Aryan tradition, Meru or Albosdj; in which case, it will not be difficult to connect with it the Babylonian cosmonogony, especially as regards the chaos. In the previous article it was shown that the Accadian goddess Ria, personifying the chaos, was identical with Anatu, and the wife of the god Anu. An inscription was also cited, in which the Accadian *An*, "heaven," is first equated to Anu, and then to Anatu, showing that both were primarily identified with the heaven, so that Ria, the chaos, as being one with Anatu, was also assimilated to the heaven. But Anu was not identified with the entire celestial space, for the Texts speak of the "heaven of Anu," as a particular, limited region, distinguished from the rest, and this, as Mr. Smith states, was the highest region, [17] which could be no other than that centering in the Pole-Star around the summit of Meru, and identified with the celestial Paradise, the abode of the great divinities. Before the separation of chaos, then, Anu and Anatu, one with Ria, representing the chaos, were identified with the particular, limited heaven around the summit of the Paradisiacal Mount, where, as we thus perceive, the chaos was originally located, for Ria's habitual abode was amid the chaos which she personified.

There exist other proofs of the location of the chaos around

17 Assyrian discoveries, p. 221.

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the summit of the Kharsak kurra, penetrating the heaven at the celestial pole. In the inscription before cited, the Accadian *An-Ri*, "heaven" plus "earth," is equated to both Anu and Anatu, where Anu is put for the heaven and Anatu for the earth. But as the "heaven of Anu" was the limited region centering in the Pole, and around the summit of the sacred mount, so the earth of Anatu must have been the limited earth centering in the base of this mountain. In other words, Anu was put for the celestial Paradise and Anatu for the terrestrial, denoted by the Accadian *An-Ri*, the exact equivalent of the Aryan *soorga-busni*, "heaven" plus "earth," or "celestial earth," that M. Obry applies to Meru, as uniting the two Paradises. Now with respect to the phrase *An-Ri*, Prof. Sayce states that the Accadian *Di-tar-an-ki*, "Judge of *An-Ri*," is the name of the Pole-star.[18] Immediately associated with this name is that of *Es-bar Au-Ki*, "crown of *Au-Ki*," evidently referring to the converse heavens centering in the Pole, according to Rev. Mr. Houghton's researches cited below.[19] If, then, the "judge of au-ki" means the Pole-Star, and the "crown of au-ki" denotes the vaulted heaven around the Pole, it is obvioui that the "producing mother of Au-Ki," or the goddess Ria, personifying the watery chaos, must be assigned to the same celestial region around the summit of the Sacred mount, which penetrated the heaven precisely at the Pole. We thus have another proof that the Babylonians connected the primal chaos with the traditional mount of Paradise, identifying it with the celestial space, where the Aryans located the sea bourukasha, and from whence issued the Ardvicura, or the heavenly Ganges.

As for the Accadian phrase *Au-Ki*, it is, as before said, the exact equivalent of the Aryan *soorga-busui*, "celestial earth," a common designation of the Sacred Meru, as uniting the celestial and terrestrial Paradise; and since we plainly connect the Accadian phrase with this mount, we may well regard it as identical, in meaning and reference, with the Aryan expression, the "celestial earth." Indeed, this very expression was used by the classic authors, with reference to the traditionary Para-

18 Trans. So., Bib. Arch. iii. p. 206. 19 Ibid. v. Pt: 2, p. 334.

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dise, and as such was long since treated by Faber, in his "Pagan Idolatry." In the Accadian form, *Au-Ki*, it occurs very frequently in the Texts, and in quite important connections of a primitive nature. Thus, of the two oldest temple structures of the Euphrates valley, the temple of Belus at Babylon is termed the "foundation of *Au-Ki*," while that at Borsippi, regarded by many as the original Tower of Babel, is called the "Temple of the seven lights of *Au-Ki*." These two pyramidal structures were express imitations of the Sacred Mount of the East, to which the expression *Au-Ki*, "celestial earth," was originally applied. In such case, the seven lights of the "celestial earth" would be the seven stars of the Great Bear, uniformly associated with Meru or Albordj, in Asiatic tradition. At the same time, these seven lights had reference to the seven planets, the stages of the temple being colored to represent them.

We had hoped to be able to exhibit the results of these investigations, in their relation to the Mosaic cosmogony, as contained in the first chapters of Genesis. But notwithstanding our constant efforts to condense, we lack the space sufficient for this purpose. We can deal thus only in general reflections. That which the Mosaic account does historically, connecting the cosmogony with the history of Eden, Asiatic tradition did geographically, definitely locating the Paradisiacal mount, and therewith associating the cosmogony. But while the heathen cosmogonies were characteristically a *generation*, the Mosaic system is distinguished by the very first verse of Genesis, as a *creation*. But the Hebrew verb *bārā*, which signifies "to create," signifies also "to beget," "to bring forth," which suggests the inquiry whether, in order to obviate the corrupt tendencies, into which the heathen systems degenerated, the notion of a generation was not eliminated from the Mosaic account, by later redactions? Be this as it may, the very first sentence of the Hebrew cosmogony, under the form transmitted to us, stamps it emphatically as a creation and not a generation. This fundamental distinction, between the Hebrew and Pagan systems, involves a radical difference, also, in the conception of he original chaos. Instead of an androgynous Divinity, and

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the union of mind with matter, constituting an indwelling capacity of development, in accord with the modern doctrine of development, which characterized the chaos of the heathen cosmogonies, the Hebrew conception excludes all sexualism, abstracts mind wholly from the chaotic material, postulating it as alone eternal, and making it the cause of matter. But aside from the conception of the chaos, there exists throughout a remarkable analogy, between the Mosaic and heathen systems. Instance the characters of Hea, Narayasna, and the Chinese Tchuen-hiu, as set forth iu the previous article, all embodying the idea of the Spirit of God moving upon the waters of chaos. Instance the character of *Phanes*, also, in the Orphic cosmogony, personifying the new-born light, bursting from the watery abyss, as in Gen. i. 3. So the Ardvicura of the Zend-avesta gives birth to the light. Both in the Avesta and the Vedas, in fact, the notion prevails of the birth of fire and light from the chaotic waters.

As regards now the results to which these investigations have conducted, especially as concerns the chaos of the ancient heathen cosmogonies, it seems to us that the evidences introduced abundantly establish the three propositions, as first formulated with reference to the Egyptian doctrines; that is to say, this chaos was originally conceived,

1. As an androgynous Divinity, or as the resumption in One of the male and female principles.

2. As the union of mind and matter both considered as eternal, and as involving inherently the power of self-evolution and development.

3. As located primitively in the heaven, being regarded as a celestial sea, and identified with the sky.

In addition to these three points, it has been also shown,

4. That Asiatic tradition generally had conceived these heavenly waters as centering in the region of the celestial Pole and around the summit of the Paradisiacal Mount, supposed to penetrate the heaven precisely at the Pole.

The most conspicuous and familiar examples of this tradition were the sea Vourukasha, the river Ardvicura of the Avesta,

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and the celestial Ganges of the Hindus. It is undeniable, however, that this watery chaos was subsequently located on the earth, or conceived as surrounding the earth, communicating with, and supplying the waters of the inland seas and rivers. It is possible, in fact, that the location of these primeval waters was thought to be different, after the birth of the world and man from what it was primitively.

An important fact in connection with the ancient cosmogonies is, that many of them were embodied in the celestial sphere. Such was the case with the Egyptian, the Babylonian, and Chinese systems. It arose naturally from the circumstances, 1, That the chaos itself was conceived as the celestial ocean, and identified with the sky. 2, That the Solar Deity was the chief cosmical agent, and his course assimilated to the creative process. Hence arose the prevalent idea in high antiquity, that the birth of the world and man took place at the annual epoch of the winter solstice. We thus explain also the language of M. Mariette, as heretofore quoted:

"From the sides of Nu-t (the sky) issues the sun-god Ra (born from the chaos), and with him commences the *light;* that is to say, *the life of man.* Osiris, finally, more ancient than Ra, is the nocturnal sun."

This is, of course, the cosmical sun, symbolized by the diurnal sun. Osiris, as such, is the sun of the primordial night of chaos; and his birth to the light, under the form of Ra, is the birth of the world and of man. But it would require a separate article to treat this subject adequately. We merely illustrate here the mode by which the cosmogony was embodied in the celestial sphere, the sun being conceived as the chief cosmical agent, and the chaos identified with the heavenly sea.

Now the ideas with which we have had to deal in these two articles appertain to the earliest period of antiquity to which the traditions of the oldest civilizations known to history are able to conduct us. The same community of conceptions, between peoples the most widely separated, which we have found prevailing in reference to the chaos, could be pointed out, also, as concerns the cosmogony itself. To hold that these concep-

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tions had been propagated from one nation to the others mentioned, at an epoch so primitive, would be morally impossible. Each one of these peoples, on separating from the original home of all, had carried these ideas to the distant country to which it had migrated. There was, then, a primitive cosmogony, the common source of those systems which we have passed in review. But a primitive cosmogony supposes also a primitive civilization, of sufficient advancement and culture to be able to originate such a system. When on the earth's surface that civilization had been located, we believe to have determined in the article on "Gau-Eden," to which reference has been made in this paper. That location, in a word, was on the great Plateau of Panier, in Central Asia, called the "dome of the world." It was there, in fact, that Asiatic tradition placed the Sacred Mount of Paradise, supposed to be situated directly under the celestial Pole, so that, as Lenormant says, it was thought to form the axis of rotation of the heavens;[20] and by the Hindus of the universe itself.

We have to say only, in conclusion, that although some of the evidences presented by us, in the light of a severe criticism may be considered faulty, the abundance of proof is sufficient, we think, to establish the four propositions just formulated. We need not say, of course, that these propositions differ widely in some important respects, from the results of many modern writers, who have seen little else in the Ancient Heathen Cosmogonies but a gross materialism and atheism. The two chief errors of these writers have been first, the exclusively materialistic character given to the chaos, and secondly, its assumed original location on the earth, instead of in the heavens.

Orlando Dana Miller.

[20] La Magic. pp. 142, 156.

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Article XI.

Vitality of the Tariff Issue.

Economic and political tendencies lately apparent, and consequent unabated agitation of the tariff question make it probable that a résumé of our tariff history and of arguments employed by both parties to the controversy may be useful. In the preparation of such an outline a considerable portion of the extensive literature of the subject has been laid under a tribute which is hereby generally acknowledged.

I. The first United States tariff became a law July 4, 1789, its preamble setting forth that duties were necessary "for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." In view of its declared objects it has generally been held that in this act the policy of protection was adopted as the chief aim, but examination of the deliberations of congress has convinced so careful an investigator as Professor Taussig that protective considerations had little to do with the act. There is no doubt that moderate protection was afforded by the duties imposed at an average equivalent of 8 1-2 per cent. *ad valorem*, and that such result was in accordance with the views of Hamilton who, as Secretary of the Treasury, was able to exert large influence on the course of financial legislation. This original act has been named the Hamilton tariff. Modified in the course of twenty-six years by seventeen supplementary acts, mostly in the direction of higher duties, it remained in force until 1816. A highly important episode of this period was the appearance in 1791, of Hamilton's great Report on Manufactures which has furnished weapons for every subsequent contest on behalf of protective duties, and which, on the one hand lavishly praised as an invulnerable defence of the protective system, and on the other severely criticised as pervaded by fallacies, has ever been recognized as a document of unusual breadth and power. This tariff proved a very efficient instrument for raising revenue, until 1808, when

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income under its operations was quadrupled. During the greater part of the period covered by the Hamilton tariff, American commerce and industry were dominated by the effects of the Napoleonic wars, the embargo and the non-intercourse acts, and by the war of 1812. The first cause had greatly stimulated our commerce, the last three acted temporarily as a practical prohibition of foreign imports. Under these conditions manufactures rapidly increased in the United States, and on the event of peace with England numerous establishments producing inferior articles, and built on the unsound basis of non-competition and careless methods, found themselves confronted with new conditions; with the certainty of a fierce contest with English manufacturers, eager to fill with their surplusage the markets from which they had been long restrained.

During the war a sentiment favorable to higher protective duties had come to prevail, and at its close the restrictive influences of armed hostility were replaced by the tariff of 1816. Up to this time the primary object in tariff legislation had been revenue. With 1816 begins the period during which the dominant motives are political and protective. The tariff of this year was framed by Dallas of Pennsylvania, on the plan of dividing imports into three classes: 1, Such as we could supply fully at home; 2, Such as we could partly supply; 3, Such as we made but little or not at all. On the first of these classes duties of 35 per cent. were proposed, which were thought sufficiently high to prevent importation, while in the second class partial, and in the third complete competition, was to be allowed. Into this act was introduced the principle of a minimum price, in accordance with which no cotton goods were to be admitted at a valuation less than 25 cents per square yard, no matter what the cost. The average of duties under this tariff when it first went into operation was about 25 per cent. *ad valorem.* Exactly this rate was put upon cotton and woolen goods with a proviso that after three years it should be reduced to 20 per cent., a clause the operation of which was afterwards postponed to 1826, and which in reality, superseded by later

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legislation, never went into effect. A duty of $9 a ton was laid on pig iron, of $30 a ton on bar and rolled iron, and of $50 a ton on hoops and rods. Blankets were assessed at 15 per cent. Subsequent alterations in the tariff of 1816 raised the duties collected under it to an average of 30 per cent. This act had the warm support of Calhoun, who at that time held the belief that high protection to manufactures of cotton would stimulate the production of that staple; representatives of New England were found in opposition.

In 1818-19 the United States suffered one of the severest financial crises of its history, the effect of which was felt for years. During a considerable period the industry and commerce of the world had been in an unsettled state, while in the United States the situation was seriously complicated by large over issues of irredeemable paper money, consequent derangement of prices and speculation. Hard times following the crisis gave impetus to an agitation for higher duties which found response in the tariff of 1824. The making of this tariff hinged on political considerations connected with the impending presidential election. It passed the House of Representatives by a majority of 5 in a vote of 209. The South and New England were united in opposition to its passage, the latter giving 15 votes for it to 23 against it; while the Middle and Western States overbalanced this opposition by their support. New England was not consistent in her opposition, and Mr. Webster in his championship of unrestricted trade was hampered by the long standing desire of his constituents for protection on shipping. One historian has characterized the debate as "a savage clash of selfish interests." Duties under the tariff of 1824 averaged 37 per cent. on dutiable imports. The minimum for cottons was made 30 cents, although in the debate Webster said, "I consider the cotton manufactures not only to have reached but to have passed the point of competition;" and a minimum was established for woolens of 33 1-3 per cent. The duty on woolens was made 30 per cent., to be raised in one year to 33 1-3 per cent. Heavy duties were placed on wool, much to the distaste of the woolen manufacturers. This

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tariff had scarcely gone into operation when agitation for more protection was renewed. Manufacturers were declared to be in a bad state. The rise in duties from 8 1-2 per cent. in 1789 to 37 per cent in 1824 had not been sufficient to yield the protection desired by infant industries. The contest centered about the woolen industry. During the Congressional session of 1826–7 a bill, afterwards lost in the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice President, was introduced proposing very important changes in the treatment of woolens. The duty was to remain 33 1-3 per cent., but all woolens costing less than 40 cents were to be assessed at 40 cents; all costing between 40 cents and $2.50 were to be assessed at $2.50; those costing between $2.50 and $4.00 were to be dutiable at $4.00.

In the summer of 1827 a convention of protectionists met at Harrisburg to formulate plans for securing higher protection. A scheme of woolen duties was formed similar to that which had recently failed to become a law, but having a wider range of minima, and proposing a 40 per cent. duty, which should afterwards be raised to 50 per cent. This convention was looked upon with suspicion in some quarters as having been called to further Mr. Adams' presidential candidacy. Whether or not these suspicions were well founded, there is no doubt that politics dominated the action of Congress in its tariff legislation of 1828. It is well nigh impossible to give briefly a clear account of the contest over the Tariff of Abominations, as the bill of 1828 was commonly called. The fight in Congress was one for position between the supporters of Adams and those of Jackson, both parties claiming to favor protection. The enemies of the bill, more especially the Southern members, sought to load it with such absurdities as to make it unpalatable even to friends, and they came near succeeding. Such changes were made in the plan proposed by the Harrisburg convention as should make the bill less distinctively an Adams measure. An important change was the insertion of a $1.00 minimum, concerning which Davis of Massachusetts declared that it "falls at a point the most favorable that could be fixed for the British manufacturer." After a bitter contest the bill

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passed the House by a vote of 105 to 94; 61 Adams men and 44 Jackson men contributing to the majority, while 35 Adams men and 59 Jacksonians formed the minority. Twenty-three out of 39 New England members voted against the bill. In the Senate the vote stood 26 to 21. Mr. Webster, though in doubt as to his course until just before the final vote, went with the majority on the ground that New England, induced by the tariff of 1824, had invested largely in manufactures and that it was therefore for her present interest that high duties should be maintained. The bill had been modified in the Senate to render it more acceptable to the New England Senators, but politics rather than economics apparently governed their action. Under the singular and complicated provisions of this bill, the average duties were about 43 per cent. This tariff satisfied nobody. John Randolph said after its passage: "The bill referred to manufactures of no sort or kind, except the manufacture of a President of the United States." During the period of this debate the South became very bitter under its conviction that through the tariff other sections were profiting at its expense, and the feelings now aroused worked up to the height of attempted nullification a few years later.

In 1832 not a few of the "abominations" of the law of 1828 were removed. The principle of minima had worked to the furtherance of fraud, and it was accordingly abolished; an *ad valorem* duty of 50 per cent. in the case of woolens being levied instead. The result of Congressional action in 1832 was a measurably thorough reconstruction of tariff laws with a view to pruning away obvious absurdities, while maintaining the principle of high protection. Such action had no soothing effect on Southern irritation and the nullification madness moved on to its discomfiture at the hands of President Jackson, but not without producing marked results on our tariff policy.

In 1833, under the guidance of Clay, notwithstanding he had just been defeated for the presidency on a high tariff platform, was brought forward and passed the famous Compromise Tariff, which it was hoped would pacify the South. According to its provisions all duties exceeding 20 per cent. *ad valorem* were

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to be decreased on alternate years, beginning January 1, 1834, by one-tenth of such excess until 1842. On January 1, 1842, one half the remaining excess was to be struck off, and on July 1 the remainder, thus bringing into operation a horizontal and therefore absurd rate of duties. Again it is apparent that the motives of this tariff legislation were political rather than economic, and there is ground for belief that its most active promoters entertained no expectation of its permanency. It remained in force, however, until September, 1842, the horizontal rate of 20 per cent. operating for just two months. In 1837 and again in 1839 occurred commercial crises which contributed to effect a revulsion in tariff sentiment.

In the extra session of 1841, after the Whig victory of the preceding year, Henry Clay, deprecating renewed discussion, said: "Carry out the principles of the Compromise act. Look to revenue alone for the support of government. Do not raise the question of protection which I had hoped had been put to rest; there is no necessity for protection." In 1842 the high protection policy was restored under a tariff act which raised the rates on dutiable goods to an average of 33 per cent. *ad valorem.* In 1844 the Whigs were overthrown in the election of Polk, and in 1846 occurred another change in tariff policy. The act of 1846 is known as the Walker tariff, from Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, who framed it, and also as the Free Trade tariff of '46, though that title can hardly be held as accurately descriptive of an act that levied an average of 25 1-2 per cent. on dutiable imports. The Walker tariff was maintained until 1857, when a redundancy of revenue brought about a further reduction of duties to an average level of 20 1-4 per cent. To this reduction there was scarcely any opposition, except from Pennsylvania, who remained constant to her historical protectionist attitude. The act of 1857, as gathered from contemporary expressions of opinion, was satisfactory to the country at large. The sharp financial crisis of 1857 seems to have produced no especial effect on public opinion concern- the tariff, perhaps because recovery was rapid.

The politics of the presidential election of 1860 were mainly

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responsible for the Morrill tariff, which passed the House of Representatives in the session of 1859–60, but did not become a law until 1861. Its intent was to restore the duties of 1846, and by this short step toward protection to attach Pennsylvania to the fortunes of the Republican party. In this act many changes were made from *ad valorem* to specific duties, and the resulting rates were in many cases more than equivalent to corresponding rates which prevailed in 1846. The outbreak and progress of the civil war are doubtless answerable for the character of subsequent tariff legislation. Numerous and frequent changes were made in the tariff, though the most sweeping acts were passed in 1862 and 1864. The causes operating to bring about these acts were: first, the need of revenue for the extraordinary expenses of war; second, the necessity of imposing higher tariff duties to offset increased internal revenue taxes; third, "the protectionist leanings of those who managed our financial legislation." The period of the civil war was a carnival of taxation. Everything was taxed to its utmost endurance. Individuals took advantage of abnormal conditions to secure for themselves commercial privileges. "Every domestic producer who came before Congress got what he wanted in the way of duties." By the act of 1862 dutiable imports paid an average of 37 per cent., which in 1864 was raised to 47 per cent. Salt paid 108 per cent., washed wool 121 per cent., carpets an average of 109 per cent. The bill which imposed these remarkable rates was introduced into the House on June 2, and after one day of general discussion was passed June 4. It was taken up in the Senate June 16 and passed June 17. Such was the measure of deliberation accorded to a tariff whose rates are very largely in force to-day.

It was many years after the close of the war before a general revision of the tariff was effected. Internal revenue taxes were gradually repealed but the compensating tariff taxes remained. A measure introduced in 1867 which would have slightly reduced protective duties, failed to become a law, although a majority of both houses favored its provisions. In the same year the duties on wool and woolens were increased. In 1872 a

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surplus of revenue, aided in some degree by a demand in the Western States for reform, brought about a 10 per cent. horizontal reduction in duties, embodied in an act which was regarded as a triumph by protectionists, because its passage prevented a more radical revision already proposed. In 1875 duties were restored to the rates in force prior to the reduction of 1872. From time to time, but especially in 1872 when tea and coffee were placed on the free list, non-protective duties were abolished, and excess of revenue thus checked. From 1870 onward there was in the West a spread of low tariff ideas which by 1882 had become so formidable that Congress felt compelled to make some concession. A Tariff Commission, consisting wholly of protectionists, was appointed to consider the question of tariff revision and report to the next Congress. They reported in favor of considerable reduction, and on the basis of their report Congress labored over a general tariff bill, which at length before its passage went through the hands of a Conference Committee. This committee instead of recommending duties between the opposing rates of House and of Senate, in many cases reported favorably to rates higher than either had demanded. For instance the House had wished a duty of $15 per ton on steel rails, the Senate one of $15.68. The committee fixed the rate at $17 per ton. Both houses had placed the duty on iron ore at 50 cents a ton, the committee preferred 75 cents a ton. The bill as it came from the Conference Committee was enacted on the last day of the session. The average rate on dutiable goods in 1883 before the revision went into effect was 42.65 per cent.; in 1884, 41.7 per cent.; in 1885, 46 per cent.; and in 1887, 47.1 per cent. The changes effected by the act of 1883 can hardly be characterized in general terms. Some duties were slightly lowered, some were raised, and many more unaltered. It did not materially decrease the average rate of duties, even temporarily, and was probably not intended to do so. The several abortive attempts since 1883 to secure a reduction in customs duties are too fresh in the minds of the people to require rehearsal.

The foregoing brief summary of the course of our tariff his-

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tory shows that from 1789 to 1816 low rates of duties were levied, mainly for revenue, while during the latter part of this period, non-intercourse, embargo, and war operated to prohibit importations; from 1816 to 1832 increasingly high protective duties prevailed; from 1833 to 1842, under the Compromise tariff, gradually decreasing duties, falling at last to a uniform rate of 20 per cent., were in force; from 1842 to 1846 came a revival of high protective duties; from 1846 to 1861 there was a period of low duties, averaging for the whole time 23 per cent. on dutiable goods; from 1861 till now extraordinarily high protective duties have had sway. the present average *ad valorem* rate being about 47 per cent. on six hundred or seven hundred specified articles.

In outlining the tariff history of the United States no attempt has been made to trace the economic results of the various modifications that have been injected into our policy, and mainly because there is small likelihood of arriving at historically accurate conclusions in estimating these effects. It is a habit of controversial writers on either side of the question to set forth in vivid lights the astonishing prosperity that by their assertions has invariably followed the triumph of their favorite policy, and to bewail the sudden and dreadful industrial blight that has trodden as close upon the heels of its temporary overthrow. Protectionist writers exult especially in the renewed business activity which undoubtedly ensued on the restoration of high duties in 1842; while low tariff advocates delight in chronicling the unparelled advance in agriculture and manufactures vouchsafed to the United States during the period of low duties from 1846 to 1860.

Of our commercial crises some have occurred under the prevalence of high protective duties, others under low duties. The sharp depression of 1857, under which, according to Mr. C. D. Wright, "wages were not affected to any great extent, nor was the volume of business," followed the adoption of 20 per cent. duties; the long depression of 1873–78, of which the same authority avers that "this industrial depression was far more severe than any that preceded it," occurred under very

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high duties. A committee of Congress examining into the causes of this depression took evidence of many witnesses. The alleged causes of the crisis, 179 in number, are classified in the first report of Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright to the XLIXth Congress, under 67 heads. Twenty-seven subdivisions occur under Currency, twenty-one under Labor, nine under Taxation, and six under Tariff. Agents of the Labor Bureau gathered and tabulated 136 alleged causes, under 71 heads, which Mr. Wright would classify as: first, providential causes, as floods, etc.; second, social and moral causes; third, political; fourth, commercial and mercantile; fifth, financial; sixth, industrial and mechanical. Those influences which according to facts collected by the bureau contributed most largely to the depression in question were: falling prices, machinery and over-production, variation in cost of production, and variation in the rate of wages. It is indeed probable that competent research might establish an intimate connection between the tariff and some or all of these main causes, but until the data furnished by such investigation are in hand, it is idle to assert that the tariff is the sole or even the main cause of a given industrial or commercial condition.

Variations in the currency induced by over issues of inconvertible paper money, and unwise banking operations with attendant fluctuations in prices and speculation, have probably contributed more than any other single cause to bring on and intensify our commercial crisis from 1819 onward. Among contributory causes the tariff must doubtless be enrolled.

II. In the following statement of the arguments relied upon by protectionists and non-protectionists in the United States to justify their respective policies, it will be impossible to go into details or to indicate the illustrations by which their reasoning is reinforced.

The reasons making for a restrictive commercial policy are in outline as follows:

1. The historical fact that until recent times all the more highly developed nations have employed commercial restriction as a means to secure national welfare and aggrandizement, and

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that at the present day there is but one considerable exception to the rule, furnishes a presumption in favor of such a system.

2. The fundamental idea of the protective system is nationality as distinguished from cosmopolitanism. Every country ought to become as far as possible industrially self-sufficient. "The nearer we come to organizing and conducting our competing industries as if we were the only nation on the planet, the more we shall make and the more we shall have to divide among the makers." (Hoyt.) A nation's primary duty is toward itself, and only by discharging this can it properly undertake its secondary duties toward the world at large.

3. Protection in a new country is necessary to bring to pass such a diversification of industry as will enable it to utilize and economize its natural resources. The people of such a country, especially one possessing large tracts of fertile land, will, if left to their own devices, pursue exclusively the extractive industries, devoting themselves to the production of raw materials. Foreigners furnish them with manufactured articles in exchange for the coarse product of their simple toil. Powerless to supply directly its own wants such a people is dependent, weak, and incapable of developing that high nationality which is its fundamental duty and vocation. The best method of diversifying industry in such conditions is for government to impose restrictive duties on the importation of foreign manufactures. Through the defense thus afforded domestic manufactures will be instituted; for (*a*) the timidity of capital in view of uncertain profits and unfamiliar processes is overcome, (*b*) the inexperience of workmen is in a measure counteracted, and (*c*) an offset is provided for the careful organization and experienced administrative methods of foreign establishments.

The mode of action of such duties is to raise the price of the imported manufactures, thereby enabling the domestic producer to charge at least temporarily an enhanced price for his product. Such is the analysis of Prof. R. E. Thompson, probably one of the best scientific supporters of high protective duties in the United States, who says (Elements of Pol. Econ., p. 233): "The very object of the duty was to raise the price of

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the foreign article; if it failed to do so it would offer no protection." This method of establishing manufactures in a new country claims the support or allowance of such distinguished economists as Say, Rossi, Chevalier, J. S. Mill, and Sidgwick, although most of them are ranked as free traders. Mill says (Principles of P. E., V. ii., pp. 538–9):

"The only case in which, on mere grounds of political economy, protecting duties can be defensible, is when they are imposed temporarily (especially in a young and rising nation) in hopes of naturalizing a foreign industry, in itself perfectly suitable to the circumstances of the country. The superiority of one country over another in a branch of industry often arises only from its having begun it sooner. A country which has this skill and experience to acquire may in other respects be better adapted to the production than those earlier on the field; and besides, it is a just remark of Mr. Rae, that nothing has a greater tendency to produce improvement in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot be expected that individuals should at their own risk, or rather to their certain loss, introduce a new manufacture and bear the burthen of carrying it on until producers have been educated up to the level of those with whom the processes have become traditional. A protecting duty continued for a reasonable time will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which a country can tax itself for the support of such an experiment. But the protiction should be confined to cases in which there is good ground of assurance that the industry which it fosters will after a time be able to dispense with it; nor should the domestic producers ever be allowed to expect that it will be continued to them beyond the time necessary for a fair trial of what they are capable of accomplishing."

4. Through the diversification of industry resulting from protection, a country becoming in large measure independent of foreign peoples, is better able to meet any of them in armed conflict if either national policy or honor makes war necessary. The dependence of nations upon each other likely to arise from a destruction of the policy of protection would put insuperable obstacles in the way of a proper discharge of national duty, since

"A just and righteous war may be the clear vocation of a

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nation, and the preparation for it the very highest duty. If unrestricted trade unfits a people for the infliction of just punishment upon unrighteous nationalities, it unfits it for one of the very highest ends for which nations exist;—unfits it for rendering to other nations the very highest service possible,—the defending them against unjust invasion of their rights,—or the chastising them into a better state of mind" (R. E. Thompson, Pol. Econ., p. 228).

5. Protective duties benefit agriculturists (*a*) by cutting off direct competition with foreign farm products, with wool especially; (*b*) by drawing into manufacturing industries great numbers of men who but for the tariff must live by farming, and thus glut the farmers' market, both foreign and domestic; (*c*) by affording through the demands of a manufacturing population for food a broad and easily accessible home market for their produce; (*d*) by putting the shop near the farm, thereby making possible an intensive rather than an extensive agriculture, i. e., the raising of a great variety of vegetables and fruits which require a near market, and supplies of eggs and milk, instead of a few staples; (*e*) by furnishing the farmer ultimately a great variety of cheap and constantly cheapening manufactured products.

6. The ultimate object of protective duties is to produce abundance and cheapness. Although the temporary result must be higher prices to the consumer, domestic competition to secure enhanced profits will finally reduce prices below the level they would have otherwise reached. Only prohibitory duties can lead to monopoly prices, and such duties have few advocates.

7. Protection prevents monopoly, (*a*) by building up home manufactures which prevent the foreign producer from selling his goods at monopoly prices, and (*b*) by stimulating competition between domestic manufacturers. Through this twofold competition consumers are supplied with cheap products.

8. Protective duties discourage foreign trade and stimulate a much more profitable domestic trade, thus retaining the money and the products of a nation within its own borders for the benefit of its citizens. Not only that, but the work and

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wages of producing are given to citizens, and not to foreigners. In this consideration lies the invincible strength of the system among wage workers. Work is a boon, and an industrial arrangement that makes work an undisguised blessing.

9. The American system compels foreigners to pay a considerable portion of our national revenues. Says Prof. Thompson of the incidence of tariff duties (Pol. Econ., p. 233):

"A part of the burden will fall on the foreign producer and the importer. The amount of it that they will have to pay will generally be proportionate to the amount of home production. When such duties are first imposed and the amount of native competition is very slight, nearly if not quite the whole of the duty is paid by the consumer, but the amount thus paid diminishes steadily as home production increases, and when the latter is nearly up to the home demand, nearly if not quite all the duty will be paid by the importer and the foreign manufacdturer."

10. (*a*) Protective duties are necessary to compensate the manufacturer for the higher wages he must pay in the United States. (*b*) But for protection well-paid American labor would be obliged to compete on nearly or quite even terms with ill-paid foreign labor, and wages in this country would fall to or far toward the European level. Many protectionists teach, apparently, that the rate of wages in America is mainly or wholly dependent on the tariff, and that deprived of its buoyancy they would speedily decline to the "pauper" scale. The following quotations exhibit the more conservative protectionist opinion:

"It (the Tariff) is not the originative force in raising wages, I most cordially admit. But it is the means of isolating the field of our national industries from European competition, to an extent which enables us to carry our ideals into practice. Remove the tariff, and and you throw the American workman into competition with the under-paid labor of Europe, and you force his employer to pay him substantially European rates" (R. E. Thompson, Protec. to Home Indus., pp. 61, 68).

"Protection prevents a vast number of people from flying to the land, and makes them consumers instead of producers of raw materials. It diminishes the aggregate of the farmer's

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products and increases the demand. It, therefore, increases the profits of agriculture in all its forms, and increases the attractiveness of the land. Whatever increases this, increases the minimum gain of all manual laborers, and increases the number of competitors for labor, and increases the amount which the employer needs to bid in order to counteract the advantages of the land. Protection, therefore, secures to the laborer the advantage which he has by nature in this country, and increases it by diversifying employments. Consequently, it raises wages above what they would be under foreign competition" (G. B. Dixwell).

11. Because of the interdependence of all industries, and by extending protection directly to many occupations, the blessings of the restrictive system are diffused through the whole community. Profits and wages in protected industries are no higher than in others, from which it is evident that the benefits confered by the tariff are not monopolized.

12. The protective tariff greatly enlarges the home market. This argument is of wider application than is suggested under (5). In general, the inception and growth of every industry creates an enlarged demand for the products of all or many other industries. The greater the number of occupations, the more intense and steady this demand. Such a home market is obviously to be preferred over any foreign market whatsoever.

That the home market after a long period of protection is not yet adequate to absorb all our products, is due in part to the operation of homestead laws whereby agriculture has been extended with a rapidity which manufacturers could not equal.

13. Large diversification of industry, possible only under protection, gives opportunity for the cultivation and employment of diverse talents, thereby accelerating the advance of civilization. On the other hand, peoples devoted to a single occupation remain rude and undeveloped.

14. Protectionists deny that individuals are as competent as government to give the best direction to their industry.

"There is not, then, a particle of evidence that every individual can judge as to his own interests better than any statesman or lawgiver could judge for him, nor a particle of evidence

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that his own interest (even if he did know it) would be the same as the interests of his country. On the contrary history is full of instances in which individuals mistake their own interests, and also of cases where, though promoting their own interests, they injure that of the country to which they belong." (G. B. Dixwell.)

15. To the charge that protection is unconstitutional, the easy answer is, that the framers of the constitution were not aware of it; and that Madison, who, in a greater measure than any other individual, may be regarded as the author of that instrument, was the first to introduce into Congress a bill for "the encouragement and protection of manufactures." A century of intermittent protection would hardly have been possible under a fundamental law hostile to such a policy.

16. To confirm their argument protectionists appeal with confidence to the economic history of England prior to 1846, to that of Ireland, and especially to that of the United States.

"Every time this country has had a tariff which encouraged the importation of manufactures from other countries, the result has been disastrous to our domestic industry. Wages have gone down, many thousands have been thrown out of employment, and the activities of production have been reduced to sluggishness and embarassment. Exactly the contrary have been the circumstances under every tariff enacted with the effect of protecting American labor and capital against encroachment from foreign aggression" (David N. Mason, Lalor's Ency. of Pol. Sci., &c., v. iii., p. 437).

17. To supplement argument protectionists have occasionally had recourse to extra-logical devices; appealing to Northern prejudice as against Southern advocacy of free trade; and to national prejudice as against "British Gold," which is alleged to lie upon the seared consciences of American free traders, and as against "British Free Trade" and the insidious machinations of "British" manufacturers and the "Cobden Club" to break down our industries. These appeals are based on the axiom: Things British are odious. They have had powerful influence with thousands who are inhospitable toward intelligent argument; and it is a mortification to honorable protec-

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tionists to be obliged to record that their utility has led some patriots to introduce the infant industry of manufacturing "British" opinions for domestic campaign consumption.

The opponents in the United States of the continuance of the protective policy fall into at least three classes; (*a*) those who believe in absolute free trade, and the maintenance of the government by some form of direct taxation; (*b*) those who defend a tariff for revenue with no protective features; (*c*) those who admit the validity of the argument for protection to young industries, but who are convinced that the time has arrived when American manufacturers are abundantly able to maintain themselves against all competition, These do not of course allow the cogency of the same line of argument. The term free trader may be stretched to include these classes. Those persons who believe in protection but think our present tariff too high, have been unkindly and undeservedly objurgated as free traders.

Free traders, then, adduce in behalf of their policy the following considerations:

1. Free trade, like every other species of freedom that does not degenerate into license, accords with the spirit of human brotherhood, with the dictates of Christian morality, and with progress in enlightenment and civilization. The contest for unrestricted trade and untrammeled production is but a phase of the battle waging by humanity for self-enfranchisement.

2. Free trade recognizes the highest rights of property, while protection, denying to the producer the right to buy or sell wherever advantage dictates, affirms the essential principle of slavery.

3. It is a fundamental principle of free trade that governments should restrict their functions to the protection of the rights of men to life, liberty, and property. The scope of this principle of *laissez-faire* has not been scientifically defined and historically has been given much latitude of interpretation. As formulated by a recent writer, it stands thus: "In all economic activity the presumption is in favor of iudividual liberty and free competition, rightfulness of public intervention in no

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case admissible save after proof" (Andrews, Institutes of Economics, p. 26). The individual, if left to the guidance of self-interest, will in general, work and trade to his own best advantage, and therefore to the best advantage of the State.

4. By increasing the interdependence of nations, by widening their knowledge of each other, and deepening mutual respect and good feeling, free trade will render war an improbable and ultimately an impossible method of settling international differences. But if it were admitted that a nation situated like our own ought in peace to prepare for war, that preparation could best be effected through a policy of freedom which assures the greatest accumulation of resources.

5. Protection originated in the Mercantile System, which held that what one nation gained in trade another nation lost, and that a nation should sell as much and buy as little as possible, that it might acquire a hoard of gold and silver. In truth both parties to every normal exchange are gainers, and every exchange prevented by protection entails loss. Moreover, every nation, as protectionists themselves now admit, must pay for what it buys by what it sells. To prevent purchases then, is to prevent sales. The Mercantile idea was long since exploded, and protection, its offspring, a relic of ignorance, should have fallen with it, to give place to unrestricted commerce.

6. The motives, general methods, and mutual benefits of foreign and of domestic commerce are identical. Under freedom both will go on as far as they are advantageous. If restriction enlarges domestic trade at the expense of foreign trade, it merely replaces what is more profitable by what is less profitable.

7. Free trade allows full play to territorial division of labor, in the development of such special and varied resources as nature has bestowed upon different parts of the earth. Protection on the other hand assumes the impossible task of demonstrating that the industrial unit and the national unit should have the same limits.

8. Diversification of industry has its root in human nature.

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As a people, at first agricultural grows in numbers and wealth; new occupations spring up perforce. Manufactures are a consequence of increased population, and not a cause. More than nine-tenths of our manufacturers must have arisen with no protection; the foundations of our great industries were laid in colonial days, not only without "protection," but under legal discouragement from England. In Hamilton's Report of 1792, many industries were enumerated as already flourishing, and

"In 1810, Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, made a report in which he stated that manufacturers of wood and leather, amongst other things, were exported beyond the imports, that the following industries were 'firmly established,' iron, and manufactures of iron, manufactures of cotton, wool and flax, paper, printing types, books, several manufactures of hemp, and a few others" (Sumner, *Protec. in the U. S.*, p. 35).

In his careful and candid *Tariff History of the United States*, Professor Taussig finds reason to believe that our great industries owe their growth in no appreciable degree to the protective system. Whatever expansion may result from restrictive duties is likely to be unwholesome and peculiarly liable to wither at touch of adverse conditions, while growth under freedom, though at first possibly slower, is sound and abiding.

The claim made at the present time that with the abrogation or even decrease of "protection" our manufactures would be ruined, is preposterous. The demands of 65,000,000 ingenious, active people in a fertile land must be largely answered at home. Even protectionists admit this claim.

"In any event, about nine-tenths of the manufactures in the 'protected' industries must be produced at home, under American conditions. What the tariff does—and all it does—is to compel the foreign producer to spend as much in getting into the American market for the other tenth as the American producer does" (Hoyt, *Protec. vs. F. T.*, pp. 10, 11).

Even if one were to admit the abstract validity of the infant industry argument, protection would still be absurd.

"As an abstract proposition it is not, I think, to be denied that there may be industries to which temporary encourage-

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ment might profitably be extended. Industries capable in their development, of much public benefit have often to struggle under great disadvantages in their beginnings, and their development might sometimes be beneficially hastened by judicious encouragement. But there are insuperable difficulties in the way of discovering what industries would repay encouragement. . . . All experience shows that the policy of encouragement once begun, leads to a scramble, in which it is the strong, not the weak, the unscrupulous, not the deserving, that succeed. What are really infant industries have no more chance in the struggle for governmental encouragement than infant pigs have with full grown swine about a meal-tub." (Henry George, *Protec. or F. T.*, pp. 104-5).

Moreover, the original petition for a few years of protection inevitably expands into a demand for a few generations of protection, and at last into the declaration of a prescriptive right to perpetual protection. Finally, if the contention that in a new country manufactures cannot grow up against the competition of older countries were valid, the manufactures of the United States would be confined to the Atlantic seaboard. The remarkable development of varied industries in the West and South conclusively proves that, where great natural advantages exist, manufactures spring up and thrive in close competition with those long established.

9. Protection is hostile to agriculture in that it compels the farmer to sell in a cheap market and buy in a dear market. Our great agricultural products, furnishing vastly the greater share of exports, cannot be protected. They compete with the world, and are sold, not only the exported portions, but as a whole, at prices fixed by world competition. As a purchaser the agriculturist must pay "protected" prices for clothing, lumber, and tools. The direct "protection" offered him on wool is a mockery. It is susceptible of proof that more domestic wool at better prices, would be called for under free trade than under protection. The deserted farms of New England, and the increase of farm mortgages in the Middle and the Western States, whatever their causes, prove at least that farmers have not realized the benefits promised by protection from the contiguity of the farm to the shop.

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10. Free traders deny that protection can have any but a depressing effect on wages. 'The efficient cause of wages is the labor from which they spring. . . . The source of wages is the product created by the same labor" (Andrews). "Protection," by turning industry into less productive channels, by permitting, through diminution of outside competition, the use of inferior or antiquated methods and machinery, lessens the productiveness of labor and consequently decreases its wages. Less than 1,990,915 of the 17,392,099 pursuing gainful occupations in the United States, by the census of 1880 meet any foreign competition. The wages of this small part can not determine, but must in general be determined by, the wages of the great mass. The comparatively high wages paid in the United States, but which vary strikingly in different sections, are secured by the superior vigor and intelligence of the people in using our remarkable natural advantages in the extractive industries. The rate of wages increased more rapidly under the low tariff from 1846 to 1860 than under the high tariff from 1860 to 1880. Free trade England pays much higher wages than protectionist countries of the Continent.

"Modern governments still worry labor by pretending to protect it against foreign competition. What they really do, is to swell the profits of the capitalist, to cripple the energies of the workman by narrowing his market, and to shorten the means of the consumer by making that dear which he wishes to urchase" (Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages*, p. 551).

11. To lump together a variety of objections, protection, instead of being based on exact economic knowledge, has been the issue of log-rolling and intrigue, and a breeder of political corruption; it is essentially unjust in taxing the many for the benefit of the few; as a fiscal agency it violates all sound canons of taxation, taking from the people vastly more than it yields to the treasury; it is in spirit unfriendly to improved industrial processes, and is of the same essence as opposition to labor-saving machinery; it is in the interest of scarcity and dearness, even permitting American products to be sold abroad more cheaply than at home; it encourages smuggling and un-

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dervaluation even on the part of its votaries; it is undermining American character for independence and integrity in business; according to statistics its claim to have stimulated immigration is baseless. The protective policy is, in the nature of the case, one of uncertainty and vacillation. No satisfactory tariff can be framed. From 1816 to 1860 there were twenty different protective tariffs, lasting on an average about seventeen months each, and four non-protective tariffs, with an average duration of six years. As the climax of absurdities, "protection" does not even check imports to the same extent as it checks exports.

12. The logical tendency of the so-called protective policy is toward monopoly. The rapidly multiplying trusts, which a number of the States are making probably fruitless efforts to check, are the legitimate offspring of a restrictive tariff. The protectionist claim that high duties foster a "threefold competition" tending to lower prices, is idle breath in their presence.

13. The protective system has failed to build up anything like a sufficient "home market." We must export largely of agricultural products, or let them rot; the manufacturing capacity of the country is already far ahead of the existing home demand, and Mr. David A. Wells estimates that our manufacturing industries would have to be multiplied five-fold that they might absorb our surplus farm products.

14. The only cases in which foreigners pay any part of our tariff taxes are (*a*) that of the foreign monopolist willing to diminish his profits in order to widen his market, and (*b*) that of the foreigner who, like the Canadian farmer, sends within our borders for sale such things as we export for sale.

"Such cases, too unimportant to be considered in any estimate of national revenue, are only the rare exceptions to the general rule that the ability to tax ends with the territorial limits of the taxing power. And it is well for mankind that this is so. If it were possible for the government of one country, by any system of taxation, to compel the people of other countries to pay its expenses, the world would soon be taxed into barbarism" (George, *Protec. vs. F. T.* pp. 94-5).

15. Many free traders believe "protection" unconstitutional, and fortify their opinion by these authorities:

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"To lay with one hand the power of the government on the property of the citizen, and with the other bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private euterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law, and is called taxation. This is not legislation: it is a decree under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation. Beyond a cavil there can be no lawful tax which is not laid for a public purpose" (*Decision of United States Supreme Court in Topeka Bond Case*, 20 *Wallace*, pp. 655-668).

"Constitutionally a tax can have no other basis than the raising of a revenue for public purposes, and whatever governmental exaction has not this basis is tyrannical and unlawful. A tax on imports, therefore, the purpose of which is not to raise a revenue, but to discourage and indirectly prohibit some particular import for the benefit of some home manufacturer, may well be questioned as being merely colorable, and, therefore, not warranted by constitutional principles" (Thomas M. Cooley, *Prin. of Constitutional Law*, p. 57).

"As an original question, the authority of Congress to exercise the revenue power with direct reference to the protection of manufactures, is a questionable authority, far more questionable, in my judgment, than the power of internal improvements" (*Webster's Reply to Hayne, Am. Eloquence, V. II.*, p. 384).

16. To substantiate their argument non-protectionists cite unhesitatingly the economic history of Great Britain since 1846, of Belgium, of Australian colonies where the two policies in dispute have been tried side by side under similar conditions and the superiority of free trade demonstrated, and of the United States, whose progress under the low tariff from 1850 to 1860 has been equalled even in manufactures, in no other decade of her history. They cite excellent protectionist authority for this claim from *Government Revenue* by Ellis Roberts. Statistics given on p. 195 of that work show that the rate of growth in wealth during the low-tariff decade from 1850 to 1860 was nearly 2 1-4 times greater than the average rate under high protection from 1860 to 1880.

17. Free traders, too, deal somewhat in aspersion when argument fails, questioning the purity of motive and method in

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their adversaries. The fairer minded, however, on both sides admit the patriotism of their opponents, but deplore their intellectual insufficiency.

The disinterested reader judging from this cursory view of the fluctuations in our tariff history, and the course of conflicting argument may be plunged into the melancholy situation of the investigator depicted by Mr. C. D. Wright: "The student who does not care which of the great systems of commerce prevails, but who is simply seeking the true one, concludes that, as a rule, the pretended arguments are mere assumption, the assumptions being the results of the theory of the speaker or writer, and that the theory is usually the result of his relation to the industries of the country;" or he may cry out with Job, "Should a wise man utter vain knowledge, and fill his belly with the east wind? Should he reason with unprofitable talk?" but he must, at least, I think, grant the assumption with which we started, that the end of the tariff agitation is not yet.

William Fuller.

Article XII.

The Resurrection of Christ.

I. Origin of the Gospel Stories.

The question of the resurrection of Christ may be approached from several points. It may be regarded in the light of its relation to the facts of nature and human life, and declared to be credible or incredible as it harmonizes with or antagonizes these facts. But before one can pronounce upon this question he must have investigated the nature of the alleged resurrection, and so have mastered the details of the narratives that describes it. These details are not so very simple either in themselves or in their relations to each other that their nature and significance can be declared without examination. It is

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true that men who claim to be careful, logical thinkers do thus slight this question; indeed declare the Gospel narratives to be so plainly unworthy of belief that it is idle to examine them. At the very outset of this paper I wish to urge that such a position is both illogical and unfair. Before this event is declared to be incredible its nature should be fairly discussed and determined.

The first thing to do then is to investigate the Gospel accounts of the event and determine their content. But here we are confronted with several points of view, and are required to make our choice between them. One class of critics affirm that the records are full of contradictions that make the validity of their testimony a very difficult question to settle. They, therefore, invite us to examine the records under the charge of damaging discrepancies. Others would have us search for the common features of the narratives, and allow the differences to be either settled in the process or permitted to stand unsettled. Others still declare that the testimony is vitiated in its very origin, and that if we could know how the narratives originated we should know how to give them their real value, to detect and cast aside their errors, and to gather from them the elements of truth and their significance.

The question of origin is of prime importance, as furnishing the starting point from which the narratives arose, as giving us the order and method of their genesis, and the explanation and interpretation of their details. This question of origin is the question I propose in this paper; and in order to fully discuss it I shall endeavor to examine the several theories that have been proposed as accounting for the rise of the idea of Christ's resurrection. I shall hold these theories to the single test of their competency to explain the details of the narratives. The real origin of these stories will alone explain these details; the theory that fails in this particular must be given up, either wholly or in part.

1. The first theory that should be examined is the one that ascribes the origin of the stories to the myth-making tendency of the early years of Christianity. If the early disciples did

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not know of these stories or did not believe them, the disposition to exalt the name, power and mission of Jesus, had full scope from the start, and, a little time being allowed, the natural and aggressive disposition to exaggerate all things connected with the life of the Christ, led to these stories of his resurrection, which at bottom were started only to express the wonderful revival of his doctrine and following which took place after his death. It is said that the Gospel records were made quite late, after these myths had become fixed in the popular tradition and belief, that no original disciple ever saw one of them; and hence these stories maintained their place in the Gospel record unchallenged by any one able to make good his case.

Many questions crowd upon the mind as one looks at this theory. Of course the first question is the date of the Gospel narratives; but this question is not altogether simple and will take more space than this paper can spare; and we do not need to discuss it. We have at hand a witness whose competency is granted from all sides. Paul testifies concerning this event in the 15th chapter of 1 Corinthians, where he makes certain significant declarations:

He preached the resurrection of Christ to the Corinthians as an undoubted fact, although some of them doubted the resurrection of the dead.[1]

He had himself received this in his conversion to Christianity.[2]

It was to be believed on the testimony of the apostles.[3]

It was an essential fact in the Christian system.[4]

The testimony as to its reality was offered in full view of the most awful consequences.[5]

Paul's identification of his belief in this event with his conversion to Christianity takes us back to within three or four years of Christ's death; so that we have proof that the resurrection of Christ was believed to be a fact by his immediate disciples, who asserted it to be a fact observed by them and in full view of the sacred responsibilities involved in the asser-

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 1–4, 12. [2] Ibid. 3. [3] Ibid. 5–7. [4] Ibid. 14, 17, 19. [5] Ibid. 15.

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tion. We are compelled, therefore, to reject this theory of the myth-making tendency as inconsistent with the facts.

2. We next confront the theory that the body of Jesus was stolen from the tomb by one or more of his disciples, and that the absence of the body gave rise to the report of his resurrection. But this theory does not consist with the profound faith and solemn assertions of his disciples, that they had seen him. Had some one stolen the body and concealed his act from the others, the faith of the others would hardly have attained such vigorous and efficient proportions as history describes, from a beginning so false and with only discouraging after-events. Again, we have direct testimony in the Gospels themselves concerning this theory. It was held by the Jews in the very beginning of the Christian religion; and is referred to by that Gospel writer whom we should naturally expect would notice it, the writer of the first Gospel. He wrote for Jews to convince them that Jesus was their Messiah. He knew of this charge and formally replied to it, asserting that it was a lie concocted by the chief priests and elders, and circulated by their agents bribed for the purpose.[6] Finally the theory does not account for the details of the narratives. It might account for a report that he had risen from the tomb; but the stories of his appearance with all their particular and emphatic circumstances, require explanation, and this theory does not furnish it.

3. We next pass to examine the theory that Jesus did not die at the time of his crucifixion, but was in a swoon when he was taken from the cross, and afterward revived, and in hiding was occasionally seen of his apostles, who, firmly convinced of his death, mistook these cautious and disguised exhibitions as evidence of his resurrection from the dead.

This theory cites in its support the fact that men have been known to recover from crucifixion, that Jesus did not remain upon the cross the time usually required for death to ensue,[7] was not subjected to the usual severities employed to hasten

[6] Matt. xxvii. 62–66; xxviii. 11–15.

[7] Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 25, 34; Luke xxiii. 44; John xix. 14.

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death,[8] and when he appeared to his disciples did so under such changes of appearance as did not allow them at once to recognize him.[9] These facts, *together with a determination not to believe in a resurrection at all*, have inclined certain critics to adopt this theory. It is now, however, universally given up, and for the following reasons:

(1.) The cases of restoration from the effects of crucifixion required constant and assiduous care; while Jesus was shut up within a damp tomb and left to himself.

(2.) The idea of his death was a definite part of the teaching of the apostles. It is assumed in all the Synoptic accounts as the condition of his entrance into the full presence of God; while John calls special attention to it as something he knew to be true;[10] and Paul again and again uses it as the basis of an important part of his teaching as to Christ's salvation.[11]

(3.) It is hardly possible to think of Jesus being able to travel upon his pierced feet and with his wounded side from Jerusalem to Emmaus and return on the third day after his crucifixion,[12] much less to take the long journey into Galilee.[13]

(4.) Nor would his appearance have been such as to inspire his disciples with such a firm, enthusiastic and triumphant faith in his glorious ascension to the throne of power and dominion on the right hand of God, as they possessed.[14] To suppose that they could have obtained such a faith from looking upon a sick, torn, and half-dead man, who had undergone the agonizing and exhausting torture of Roman crucifixion for a half day, is to stretch human credulity beyond reason. It is small wonder that the critics who have attempted it have been abashed in the attempt. Their conduct affords us an instructive example of the extent to which men will carry an absurd idea when it becomes desirable to defend a prejudice against facts.

(5.) Whatever one may think of the validity of the statements of Jesus' claims made after his resurrection, they are of

[8] John xix, 32, 33. [9] Luke xxiv. 16; John xx. 14, 15; xxi. 12.
[10] John xix. 34, 35. [11] 1 Cor. xv. 3; 2 Cor. v. 14, 15; Rom. v. 8, vi. 3, 6, 10, etc.
[12] Luke xxiv. 13, 36. [13] Matt. xxviii. 16; John xxi. 1. [14] Acts ii. 24-36.

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such a nature as could not possibly have been suggested by Christ's appearance which this theory would necessitate. There would be nothing in the bearing of this half-dead man to give the disciples assurance of triumph and exalted power.

(6.) And in view of his attitude in hiding himself from his enemies and the people, we must reconstruct our ideas of his character. No longer brave and firm in the face of danger, his taste of torture has deprived him of his courage and silenced his tongue. Instead of fidelity to his mission, of obedience unto death, the face of death has frightened him into submission, and conquered his soul. The still, calm face with the great heart filled with peace beneath it, have both disappeared, and a face pinched with fear, and a heart startled by apprehension have taken their place. The whole Gospel portrait tumbles into ruin when viewed from such a standpoint, and the character of Jesus crumbles with it. He who can hold such a theory should faithfully follow it to its conclusions, and disavow his faith in Christ. It is no wonder that Christian critics, who in their hearts believe in the moral mastership of Jesus, shrink from defending such a theory. The wonder is that they could ever have entertained it. Only their unwillingness to accept the resurrection as a fact can explain their attitude.

Since there are details in the Gospel narratives that cannot be explained as products of myth-making tendencies, that could not have arisen from the fact of the absent body, and are not to be explained by Jesus' revival from a swoon, one may ask if these details are not to be explained by the theory of delusion on the part of the apostles. If it be admitted that they firmly believed in the reality of these unexplained details, may not their belief be explained as a mistake? In answering this question we must examine two other theories; the theory of illusion, and the theory of hallucination. Let us define the two. An illusion is a wrong perception, having a real external cause that the mind misinterprets. In this instance, it is a case of mistaken identity; the apostles saw some one they mistook for Jesus. An hallucination is a seeming perception, having no objective cause, but is the result of some disturbance

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of the nerves of sensation, produced wholly from within the being of the one experiencing it.

4. We will first consider the illusion theory. It is claimed that the disciples were aroused by the loss of Christ's body, and after searching for it in vain, recalled his words that he should rise from the dead, and concluded that he had risen; so were ready to accept as their risen Master almost any one who should remotely remind them of him. Most of his appearances are made in obscure light;[15] Mary Magdalene does not recognize him;[16] the two disciples on the way to Emmaus walk with him a long way and do not know him;[17] when the eleven behold him, he is so far from being recognized with certainty that some, though in life they knew him well, doubt his identity;[18] even Peter and John, easily convinced as they seem to have been,[19] yet entertained a lurking suspicion that it might be another.[20] These facts seem to show a disposition on the part of the apostles to jump at slight incentives to the conclusion that they have seen him, and yet that they were not without their doubts about the matter. In such a state of mind slight indications pass current; hence the growing belief and the origin of the stories.

At first glance the question seems rather difficult; but on examination the difficulty largely disappears. The conditions under which illusions take place are well known; and we have only to ask if they are revealed in these narratives; for it is not to be expected that the narrators would have anticipated this objection and guarded against it, in the statements and assumptions of their relation. Three conditions to the existence of illusion are to be noted:

(1.) There is a strong and pervasive expectation of seeing what the subject thinks he beholds. Let us examine the narratives to see if they furnish us signs of its existence. In the case of Mary Magdalene, it appears from most of the narratives that so far from expecting to find Jesus alive was she,

[15] Luke xxiv. 29; John xx. 1; xxi. 4. [16] John xx. 14. [17] Luke xxiv. 16, 31.
[18] Matt. xx. 17. [19] John xxi. 4, 7. [20] John xxi. 12.

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that she had come to prepare his dead body for its final rest.[21] When she finds the tomb empty she does not think of his having risen, but that his body has been removed.[22] When she sees Jesus so wrapped is she in her intense desire to find his body that she does not recognize him.[23] He deliberately calls her mind to a recognition of him by some well known intonation of her name.[24] When she tells the disciples that she has seen Jesus they do not believe her, but regard her words as idle tales.[25] When Jesus walks with the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, so far are they from cherishing any expectation of seeing him again, that they are discouraged at his death and regret it as overthrowing their hopes of his Messiahship.[26] It takes his well known gesture of breaking bread to bring them to recognize him.[27] When Jesus enters the room where the disciples are assembled, though they were discussing the report of his resurrection and believed Peter's report that he had seen Jesus, they were terrified, thinking him a spirit, and for very joy find it difficult to comprehend that he had risen.[28] These details make strongly against the existence of any expectation in the minds of his disciples.

But it is urged that he told them of his resurrection so openly and repeatedly that even his enemies remembered his words and were on their guard against an attempt to prove them true.[29] Must not the disciples have expected the event? We have it stated that they did not.[30] We find them ignorantly wondering what the rising from the dead could mean.[31] The fact is the disciples did not think the Messiah could die; the whole teaching of the Jewish rabbis was that the Messiah was to be an immortal King;[32] and the disciples were so saturated with that idea that they rejected with energy the idea that Christ could die.[33] They could not understand how he could claim to be the Messiah yet undergo death. This being so, of course they had no place in their minds for the idea of his resurrection, much less for an idea that so filled their minds as to

[21] Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 1; John xx. 13, 15. [22] John xx. 2, 13.
[23] John xx. 14, 15. [24] John xx. 16. [25] Mark xvi. 11, 13; Luke xxiv. 11.
[26] Luke xxiv. 19–21. [27] Luke xxiv. 30, 31. [28] Luke xxiv. 36–41.
[29] Matt. xxvii. 62–66. [30] Luke xviii. 34; John xx. 9; Mark ix. 32.
[31] Mark ix. 10. [32] John xii. 34. [33] Matt. xvi. 21, 22, and its parallels

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master their senses and create perceptions out of unlikely material.

(2.) Again the production of an illusion takes place suddenly. It is a trick played on the senses when the mind is off guard, throwing its disguise over the object of the perception during the winking of the eye; so that the subject is not conscious of the transformation. But there are certain features of these appearances which reveal a very different process. Mary Magdalene sees the form in the garden, but not as Jesus; *she is laboring under an illusion in mistaking him for the gardener*, an illusion that he corrects by calling her name.[34] The two disciples were long under an illusion that they were walking and talking with a stranger on the road to Emmaus, so deeply were they held by their sense that their Master had died; till gradually his exposition of his own fortunes and mission had prepared their minds to recognize him when he was ready to reveal himself to their wrapt senses. The scene in the shut chamber does not reveal any sudden and unnoticed transformation of his appearance, but a slow dawning of the comprehension that it is indeed himself alive and risen from the dead.[35] So in the scene with Thomas the week following.[36] Against a stubborn disinclination to believe, on a demand of tangible evidence, Jesus reveals himself to his matter-of-fact apostle, and the man accepts the revelation.

(3.) And finally there are certain details of the narratives that hardly consist with the idea of mistaken identity. Jesus is said to have shown his wounds to his disciples.[37] This is surely not a simple trick played on unguarded senses, held in the grasp of a powerful expectation that transformed objects to suit its own desires; but Jesus is represented as by word and act exhibiting his wounds. Moreover he invites the scrutiny of the sense of touch to confirm the verdict.[38]

5. But are not all these details the fruit of hallucination? This question requires us to examine some of the marks of hallucination. I quote from a recent work on Illusions and

[34] John xx. 14–16.

[35] Luke xxiv. 36–43. [36] John xx. 24–28. [37] Luke xxiv. 39, 40; John xx. 20–27.

[38] Luke xxiv. 39; John xx. 27; 1 John 1.

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Hallucinations:[39] "Whilst it is the particular physiological or mental state of an individual that determines the occurrence of hallucinations, it is the predominant belief or superstition of the period at which they occur that determine their special character and type."

(1.) The particular physiological or mental state of the individual required to determine the occurrence of an hallucination involves strong expectation of the event. This we have seen the apostles did not have. That they were under excitement is true, and deeply perplexed; but the evidence is explicit enough that instead of cherishing any expectation of his resurrection, his death had utterly discouraged them. Hallucination might indeed arise in single minds by overwrought nervous tension and weakened nervous control, reproducing past visual images, but such experiences are not epidemic. Epidemic hallucinations require deep and absorbing expectations for their production.

(2.) And if we look at the narratives to inquire whether or not "the special character and type" of the appearances was due to the predominant belief or superstition of the period, we shall find that it was not. There were two beliefs extant at the time regarding the state of the dead. One was the ordinary Greek and Roman idea that the dead were ghosts or shades, leading an unsubstantial and intangible existence in a realm of shadows. The other was the Egyptian idea that they dwelt in bodies and after 3,000 years had elapsed after death, would arise in the former bodies. The Jews seem to have held in some shape or other both these ideas, modifying the last to suit their Messianic notions. Their bodily resurrection was to be "in the last day," at the coming of the Messiah; and meanwhile the dead seem to have been regarded as dwelling in Sheol, the place of shadows. But we have no such as idea as this in the gospel accounts. Jesus lives, walks, talks, even eats,[40] in a body, a body that can be seen and touched; but it is not an ordinary physical body. When Mary approaches him,[41] he tells her he has not risen to the Father, but is to rise. The

[39] A Physician's Problems, by Charles Elam, M. D., M. R. C. P., p. 275.
[40] Luke xxiv. 43. [41] John xx. 17.

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New Testament narrative informs us that that body was on the earth a number of days and then became invisible to the apostles.[42]

Peter is made to declare that Christ's body did not see decay;[43] and Paul gives the law of the resurrection as a change from the physical to the spiritual.[44] We have then the story of *a body undergoing transformation from a physical to a spiritual condition.* During the forty days it is in transition. This is its special character and type, a character and type unheard of by the apostles and unknown before in the annals of human life and belief. Hallucinations have produced stories of resurrection from the dead "in accordance with the predomnant belief and superstition of the period," but none like this, contradicting and transcending the predominant ideas of the time.

The special character and type of these appearances does not lie on the surface of the narratives. Taking any one of them by itself it is impossible to construct any satisfactory idea of the nature of Christ's risen body. It is plain, then, that if the accounts taken together furnish us such an idea it does not come from the moulding influence of a "predominant belief." By combining the accounts and by considering Paul's teachings on the subject, we get a consistent idea on the subject, and one that strangely accords with the apostolic doctrine that relates Christ's ascension with man's salvation.

And it is easy to show from the narratives that the meaning of the resurrection gradually dawned upon the minds of the early disciples, shaping their understanding of the nature and operation of the Divine Kingdom; and was therefore not itself the product of such an understanding held before Christ's death and dominating their understanding of that event. To confront this single problem of the origin of the apostolic idea of the Kingdom of God is to bring one face to face with the question, were the apostles taught their idea of the Divine Kingdom by the resurrection of Christ, or did they construct the stories of the last by a powerful understanding and sense

[42] John xx, 26; xxi, 1. Acts i. 3. [43] Acts ii. 4, 31. [44] 1 Cor. xv.; 35–49; 51–53.

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of the meaning of the first. We are shut up to these alternations; and our choice is not doubtful for an instant in the face of the narration. If this be so, there is no place for the theory of hallucination in an explanation of the origin of the Gospel stories of Christ's resurrection.

(2.) Another mark of hallucinations is that they tend to occur with increasing frequency till the cause that produces them has run its course. But there is a certain paucity and economy in these appearances of Jesus that belie the theory of hallucination, In only a few significant cases did he appear, for a limited number of days, and with the limit set and marked by an exalted purpose and significance.

(3.) Again, hallucinations generally betoken mental unsoundness and structural brain disease in their subjects. But these men who believed in these appearances were the apostles of a great moral movement that has wrought a revolution in the life and civilization of this world, dissipating superstition, giving an aspect of dignity and worth to human nature that before it lacked, and planted in human hearts a hope that transformed man's aspirations, strengthened his will against adversity and temptation, and produced a type of moral being that is the foundation of a moral kingdom.

(3.) Finally, hallucinations are like the brains that produce them, whimsical, disjointed, and without sense. But consider what these appearances betokened to them who narrated them, and to them who believed them: a life outlasting death, a spiritual kingdom begun on earth and reaching through death into an immortal life that should furnish a theatre for unending progress toward the Wisdom and Goodness of God, moving men by a power that not only drew their souls to God by the persuasions of Infinite Love, but transformed even their earthly bodies into the likeness of the glorified body of Christ by the same mighty working whereby he should subdue all things unto himself.[45]

Was this magnificent conception of the power and working of the Divine Kingdom, which from that day till now, has been

[45] Phil. iii. 21.

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transforming the lives of men, born from the decaying brains of crazed enthusiasts? He who holds to this theory of hallucination must so declare. At this point the latent moral scepticism contained in the materialistic doubt of the resurrection reveals itself.

To this conclusion he who attempts to examine the New Testament accounts of Christ's resurrection without multilating them to serve a prejudice, will naturally arrive. To him who, predetermined to reconstruct the narratives under the guidance of an unverified hypothesis, shapes and dismembers the accounts in view of his theory, I have nothing now to say. This subject that such treatment opens stands by itself, and requires thorough and extended examination. To him who declares that he does not care what the narratives contain, that he does not desire to examine them or to account for their existence, but who rejects them on the ground of their assumed conflict with scientific truth, I can only point out the unscientific nature of the course he has chosen to adopt, and insist that he has no right to pronounce upon testimony that he has never examined. *G. M. Harmon.*

Article XIII.

Giordano Bruno.

"Man cannot be other than what he makes himself, and he makes himself in obedience to immutable though unwritten laws, whereof he only of late years became duly conscious."

Such is the judgment of one who has made protracted and critical research into the history of the intellectual and moral growth of mankind through the long past centuries. It is a conclusion inevitable from full knowledge of the sad and painful stumblings of humanity toward truth and righteousness, in the midst of much darkness and difficulty, through many generations. The faint coloring of fatalism which the words con-

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tain is modified by the content of courage and hope which the thoughtful will find in them and the implication of a single Supreme Mind in accord with which man must work even in the making of himself as an intellectual and moral being.

No period serves better to illustrate the proposition thus tersely stated than the one of which the author of it was writing, —the Humanistic Movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The change which marks the transition from the Middle Ages to what is known as modern history was, perhaps, the most complete and stirring that has passed over the world of mankind since the introduction of Christianity. The darkness that had been gathering for a cycle of six hundred years, which was densest in the tenth and eleventh centuries, gave way, and light came streaming in from every direction. Men seemed all at once to arouse, to come to themselves as volitional, thinking beings in a world of wondrous beauty, governed by inflexible laws, luminous with the Divine Presence. They seemed all at once to become aware that this world actually exists, that this life has its possibilities, its hopes, its duties. Beginning in Italy in the fourteenth century, the new movement spread from one nation to another, plunging Germany into the Protestant Reformation; arraying Holland against the masterful ambition of Spain; carrying the Catholic church over into the Tridentine Council, and the Counter-Reformation; culminating in the Elizabethan age in England; and reaching the full outcome of its worst elements in the French Revolution.

Historically known as the Renaissance, or the Revival of Learning, it was the expiring struggle of the Middle Ages; the putting off of ecclesiastical and feudal despotism; the breaking through of the best thought and aim of those ages, bearing in its virile bosom the promise of the art, literature, science, social and political freedom of our modern civilization.

"The Renaissance," says Symonds, "must be viewed mainly as an internal process whereby spiritual energies, latent in the Middle Ages, were developed into actuality and formed a mental habit for the modern world. The process began in Italy

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and gradually extended to the utmost bounds of Europe, producing similar results in every nation and establishing a common civilization."

The Middle Age idea was the union of all the European nations under an absolute monarchy in state and an absolute authority in church; one empire and one church, divinely appointed, infallible. The reaction against this idea as manifested in Humanism proves that the spirit of man had marched a long way during these dismal centuries. Here and there in the general darkness looms up a light which serves to point out and lead the way to heavenly truth. Albertus Magnus, born in 1193, had written against the Augustinian doctrines of the miracles, the atonement and the trinity. Lully had written in the interest of a rational Christianity which should commend itself to the highest moral conception and mental attitudes of heathendom. Paracelsus had wandered about Europe studying diseases and remedies and teaching more natural and sensible methods of treating the sick. Physical science had made feeble attempts to come to birth in the cells of Gerbert and Roger Bacon, the first of whom eventually assumed the papal crown, while the other was brought to prison as a magician who was in deadly compact with the devil. Dante had written the Divine Comedy. Petrarch and Bocaccio had well nigh, by their intellectual genius, anticipated the age to come. Michavelli had taught men how to write and to enjoy the reading of history. Wyckliffe had wrought his powerful work. The Medici, [including Pope Leo X.,] Nicholas V. and other noted pontifical authorities had thrown their powerful influence into the scale, and everywhere were symptoms that the old order was breaking up while yet the new order was hardly more than adumbrated in the mystic, portentous future.

But the break between the old and new order was not definitely made until the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. Contemporary with this event came the invention of printing, the discovery of America, the collapse of the holy Roman empire, and the consequent enfeeblement of the papacy. With these events it became manifest to the

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royal Pontiffs that the new learning which they had so industriously cherished at first, had in it the agencies which threatened their own downfall. Papal support was henceforth withdrawn from the movement, scholars who held the new ideas were imprisoned or burned, emperors who fostered the movement or harbored the scholars were excommunicated and anathematized, all with a persistency and cruelty which it would be well for mankind had it never been. Compelled to recognize the vital force of the new ideas in Holland; to treat with the German Reformation instead of crushing it out; obliged by popular demand for reform in the church to convene the Council of Trent; destined to lose in the game which Spain, having choked Italy and dragged France over to the Catholic side, played for the mastery of England and her people; the papacy came out of the conflict with shattered strength and precarious footing. The Counter-Reformation, the Inquisition, the Order of Jesus and the Spanish hegemony saved the Roman church in her extremity, but they left consequences behind them of which the end is not yet.

It is impossible to deny that the Humanistic movement was, in great measure, a protest against the manners and methods of the Roman church, especially against the lives,—the immorality—of its popes, its priests and the members of its different monastic orders. The church virtually admitted this in the decrees of the Council of Trent. It is very clear to the student, however, that it was more than that. It was at heart a partial return, at least, to pagan thoughts and views of life. The recovery of a great quantity of pagan literature; through the fall of Constantinople and the industry of a large number of students who wandered over England and the continent, had taken captive the fancy of emperor, poet, philosopher and knight. The lyrics of the Minnesingers, the tales of trouveres, the lives of troubadours filled southern Europe with the delights of poetry and of kindly culture. But the total result was a consensus of thought and feeling that was essentially pagan. It was this pagan element which came to its legitimate and irrepressible outcome in France in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

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"Humanism," says Symonds, "as it actually appeared in Italy was positive in its conception of the problems to be solved, pagan in its contempt for medieval mysticism, invigorated for sensuous enjoyment by contact with antiquity, yet holding within itself the germ of new religious aspirations, profounder science, sterner probings of the mysteries of life than had been attempted even by the ancients."

Under the dominance of the old learning the sentiment of Absolutism was established and in full possession of the religious houses, the universities and the learned professions. Against a powerful and organized resistance such as was thus presented the pliant tendencies toward freedom as they existed in Germany and Italy were, in open rupture, measurably powerless. The spectacle is presented of three opposing forces, two Christian, one pagan,—or essentially pagan—yet each unalterably set against the others. What happened we know. Nascent Protestantism broke up into persecuting sects. The new learning failed to carry the Italian people over into any maintenance, even any earnest desire for, freedom, either political or religious. A reaction set in which held Italy in bondage up to the time of Garabaldi, which is still holding on in France, and which utterly destroyed Spain as a factor in the political affairs of Europe. The main instruments in the reaction were the compact between Charles V. and Pope Clement VII., which carried France over to the Catholic side, the Catholic Reformation, the Spanish Inquisition transplanted to Rome, and the Society of Jesus.

Giordano Bruno had the misfortune, if we choose to call it so, to begin his career after the reaction was well started and the drift of things had materially changed. He was born in 1548 at Nola, an ancient Greek city close to Naples. At a very early age, probably driven as much by poverty as by inclination, Bruno entered a Dominican monastery at Naples.

"Nola was famous for the license of its country folk, who preserved their Hellenic traditions intact. The vintage was celebrated with a scandalous extravagance of obscene banter. The ordinances of the Council of Trent were not in force in his novitiate and it is probable that throughout the thirteen years

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of his conventual experience Bruno mixed freely with the people and shared the pleasures of youth in that voluptuous climate. He was not delicate in speech and made no secret of the attraction which female loveliness had for him."

Such is the characterization of Bruno's early years as given by one of the most unbiased historians of that time. Though never, as it appears, a solitary student of books, before leaving Naples at the age of twenty-four, he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of Aristotle and the schoolmen, having paid particular attention to Thomas Aquinas and Lully.

"He had studied Plato as expounded by Plotinus; had mastered medieval cosmography and mathematics and was probably acquainted with the writings of Copernicus," who had died only seven years before Bruno was born. Besides the Italian language he knew Spanish, could read and speak Latin fluently and knew something of Greek. With his usual disregard of consequences he left behind him at Naples books which exposed their possessor to the interdiction of the Index. He is said to have confessed thus early in his career that for many years he had entertained speculative doubts upon the metaphysics of the trinity, though he had always accepted the dogma upon the authority of the church as every good Catholic was required to do. The Inquisition took up the challenge thus thrown down to it and began to institute proceedings of so grave a nature that Bruno felt himself in danger. He escaped in a monk's dress and travelled to Rome. He did not remain long in Rome, having heard that the prosecution against him was to be transferred to that city. He discarded his monk's dress and departed in the garb of a layman. Unsettled, cast adrift from convent doors, having, in his own right, not where to lay his head, attainted for heresy, out of sympathy with all religious thought, he became a wanderer. He taught Grammar, lectured on the Sphere—a peculiar branch of medieval science—wrote books and pamphlets and so lived from day to day, from country to country. Draper says that for teaching the rotation of the earth he had to flee to Switzerland. He betook himself to Geneva. Here Bruno came in contact

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with the doctrines of Calvin, who died in 1564. He has expressed a more vigorous antipathy for Calvinism even than for Catholicism. The despotism of warring sects he pronounced worse than that of the mother church because less excusable. But Bruno's life was little safer at Geneva than at Rome. He went to Toulouse, where he spent six months lecturing on the peripatetic psychology and obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Raymond Lully, who died in the early part of the fourteenth century, had conceived a method which, by

"Mechanically presenting all the predicates which attach to any subject, was adapted to answer any question on that subject. Just as by knowing the typical terminations of cases and tenses we could inflect and conjugate any word whatever, so by a knowledge of the different types of existence and their possible combinations we should possess implicitly a knowledge of the whole of nature."

This was known as the "Great Art" of Lully, and formed the ground work of much of Bruno's teaching. In an age when men were beginning to regard themselves as thinking beings in a world of mystery and yet of so much that, by the right use of methods, might be known, it is not strange that they were not always able to keep solid footing in all their speculations. Bruno was probably deceived himself rather than wilfully deceiving others. At all events he claims to have convinced Henri III. of France that the method was thoroughly scientific. Armed with a letter of introduction from the King of France to the French Ambassador in London, he went to England. Here he was received into the family of the ambassador and spent the most quiet two years of his life. Seven of his most important works were printed in London. Strangely enough he is never mentioned by any contemporary English writer, though he was received at court by Queen Elizabeth, whom he styles a goddess, was, by his own showing, a friend of Phillip Sidney and an acquaintance of Shakspeare, if not a friend. Prof. Thomas Davidson, in his lecture before the New York Liberal Club, says:

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"From Bruno certainly came no inconsiderable touches in the play of Hamlet, and also incidents in the construction of the play itself."

By means of Bruno, he says, we are for once in contact with the living Shakspeare, and know one of the sources from whence his mighty genius was gathering its materials. It is possible, and indeed, seems very likely from the facts in the case, that Bruno impressed the men of the Elizabethan age,—even the Queen herself and the politicians—more by his philosophy than by his personality. But even that will hardly account for the fact that no single allusion is made to him, or to his friendship for the notable men of that time, even of Sidney. Symonds says:

"Those gentlemen of Elizabeth's court did not certainly exaggerate the value of their Italian guest. They probably accepted him as London society of the present day accepts a theosophist from Simla or Thibet."

Bruno returned to Paris in 1585, but soon, disquieted by the disorders of the realm, set out for Germany. He wandered from Marburg to Mainz, thence to Wittenberg, where he remained two years. He felt no sympathy whatever with the German reformers. "I regard them as more ignorant than I am. I despise them and their doctrines. They do not deserve the name of theologians but of pedants," is his somewhat vigorous repudiation of them. It is evident that the paganism of the Renaissance had entered into his blood; he got no support out of either Catholicism or Protestantism. He regarded both with a feeling of distrust and dislike, a feeling which the leaders of both systems seem to have returned to him in full measure. In 1591 he accepted the invitation of Giovanni Mocenigo, a Venetian gentleman, to become his teacher in the "Great Art" of memory. It appears that this Mocenigo was a traitor to Bruno from the first, meaning to get out of him those things which he professed to teach and then to deliver him to the holy office. He was doubtless fascinated with the idea of gaining some great secret, and when he found how meagre was Bruno's vaunted method for acquiring knowledge without study, he was

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enraged. Bruno was an inveterate boaster and no close student. It is the testimony of one of his German publishers that all persons who dealt with him as a teacher were discontented. This was owing partly to Bruno's exaggeration of the possibilities of his methods, and partly to the extravagant credulity of the age. It is certain, however, that, whether Bruno was a wilful deceiver of others, or whether he was deceived himself, Mocenigo and others were led to expect more from his teaching than he was able to impart. And whether Mocenigo had designed from the first to betray Bruno or not, that is what he did eventually. Induced, as he said, by the obligation of his conscience and by order of his confessor, he denounced Bruno to the Inquisition in May, 1592. The darkness gathers over Bruno at the Venetian Inquisition in July of that year, lifts again for a brief space on Feb. 9, 1600, when he appears at the Minerva, in Rome, to receive his sentence, and closes in forever on Feb. 17, when he is burned at the stake in the Field of Flowers, where his monument now stands sacredly dedicated to his memory.

Such is the story of Giordano Bruno as gathered from the best authorities. It appears that in personal character he was not above reproach, though he may not have been greatly worse than thousands of men of his time. It was proven at his trial that he had confessed to having freely indulged his passions to the utmost of his opportunity; and had said that indulgence in carnal pleasures ought not to be reckoned sinful. Draper says:

"Against the opposition it had to encounter the Copernican theory made its way slowly at first. Among those who did adopt it were some whose connection served rather to retard its progress because of the ultraism of their views, or the doubtfulness of their social position. Such was Bruno."

This doubtfulness of social position may have been good reason why his name never appears in contemporary English literature.

In philosophy he was a pantheist, and has furnished the grounds of faith and the main arguments of all pantheistic

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philosophers since his day. Prof. Fisher says he was an Italian, not without genius, who promulgated a theory of pantheism which identified the Deity with the world. Draper says:

"He believed that the world is animated by an intelligent soul, the cause of forms, but not of matter; that it lives in all things even such as seem not to live; that everything is ready to become organized; that matter is the mother of forms and then their grave; that matter and the soul of the world together constitute God."

It does not appear, however, that he was arraigned before the holy office upon any charge which included this pantheistic idea. It was made the heads of the accusation that though Bruno was averse to any religion he preferred the Catholic; that he had said that the doctrines of the trinity, the miracles, the birth of Christ and transubstantiation were insults to the Divine Being; that Jesus and the apostles had seduced the people by working apparent miracles; that he did not believe in punishment for sin, but held to transmigration of souls; that he had charged upon the religious orders that they defiled the earth by evil life, by hypocrisy and avarice. It was not, therefore, so much his philosophical opinions which finally brought him to the stake as it was the viciousness of his mental and moral attitude toward the whole art of holy living. He was no exception to the great law that moral character affects intellectual aims and conclusions. His thought and his teaching were both tainted by his profligate and immoral views of life. And it appears that this was, at the very last, the charge upon which he was arraigned, tried, sentenced and burned.

This sad and pitiful story gathers interest for us just now from the fact that a monument to the memory of Bruno has recently been unveiled at Rome, built mainly by those in France and the United States who style themselves "Freethinkers." Nothing could show more vividly the modern impotence of the church of Rome than this one event. That the government of Italy should have removed so far from the ecclesiastical despotism of the seventeenth century as to consent to the scheme for thus honoring an excommunicated here-

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tic; or that it should dare to allow, in spite of the anathemas of the pope, the ceremony to take place which actually did take place at Rome on the 20th day of June last, is a most striking comment on the present situation of the papal power. It recalls the words of Hallam:

"Those who know what Rome has once been are best able to appreciate what she is; those who have seen the thunderbolt in the hands of the Gregories and the Innocents, will hardly be intimidated at the sallies of decrepitude, the impotent dart of Priam amidst the crackling ruins of Troy."

Notwithstanding all that has been said it is but simple justice to add that the connection of the church with this unhappy affair will not be made clear unless it be viewed under two different aspects—the method and the motive. It would be unjust to the church to say that her reasons for withdrawing from Humanism were altogether fallacious, or that her action in the case was without excuse. It is an undeniable truth that a spirit soon began to show itself in the movement which was believed to be detrimental to the best interests of Christian institutions and forms of society. There was actually no choice left the church. To set her face against the paganism which threatened to whelm Christianity under the guise of Greek culture was the only course left to her. It ought to be borne in mind that the real motive of the church, the motive of which her adherents were most vitally conscious, was to save Christianity as the true, revealed religion. The idea that Christianity was about to close its career, that the Christian church would gradually fall into decrepitude and positive decay, has never been, at any one time, long absent from the minds of those who wished to believe it. This confident faith of unbelievers has not been without its influence upon timid Christians. Even in our own generation some have been anxious lest the church, even Christianity itself, should suffer from the blows of science and infidelity, hurled by master minds against them. It would not be strange if the new paganized learning affrighted the souls of the faithful in the terrible long ago. That the methods of the fifteenth century were such as we of the nineteenth cannot wholly approve is what we ought to expect.

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What would have been the result had the Renaissance followed entirely the path laid out for it by the genius of the Italian people we can never know, but there is much reason for thinking that had the centrifugal force of the Humanistic ideas gone on unchecked by a more constructive thought much that is of value would have been swept away. The rival sects into which Protestantism so early divided, the struggling nations which for the next two hundred years raved and fought, above all the cataclysm which overwhelmed France in the last century, are tokens of what might have been even worse than it was had not the church interposed her thought of unity as opposed to discord, of subjection to recognized authority as opposed to license or anarchy.

"It was not in the nature of the Italian people," says one author, "sceptical and paganized by the Revival to be keenly interested about questions which seemed to revive the scholastic disputes of the Middle Ages."

The paganism which lay at the heart of the whole Italian thought—or of what was pure Humanism—was unchangeably and by nature opposed to both Protestantism and Catholicism. But opposed as these two Christian forces were to paganism and mutually repellant to each other, they saved Christianity as a leaven which should eventually change the whole character of earthly society. In scanning this period Christians can but rejoice in the sturdy vitality of the church. There were discordant forces at work which, had they gone on unchecked, would have seriously crippled the best intentions of men, and, perhaps, retarded by many generations, our present civilization.

The methods we need not condone, bnt we should be just to the motive of the church and thankful to God that, in spite of the general licentiousness of the age, the dreadful darkness out of which it had just emerged, there was still enough of the vitality of divine truth remaining with the church to tide it over the breakers and send it on down the centuries, the Ark of the everlasting Covenant between God and man.

Mary J. DeLong.

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Article XIV.

The Scientific Study of Miracles.

On the night of the 17th of October, 1604, Kepler, one of the greatest religious successors of the Magi of the Far East, gazing at the vast stellar spaces, found his attention seized by a new star in the constellation Serpentarius. "It chose for itself," as the astronomer said,[1] "a place near the royal way of the sun, the moon and the planets, as if it would receive the salutations of the planets." He found himself occupied with a problem which had stirred earnest thought upon the hills of Persia many centuries before and impelled men to seek the resting place of the new-born Redeemer.

So, amid the splendid and majestic galaxies of Christian Revelation, truths of vast orbital sweep and mighty potency, from time to time incite investigation. Coincidently with manifold events and numerous phenomena has existed a general conviction of order, law and harmony and a growing disposition to observe facts, to distinguish them from each other, to seek their origin and to classify them for the convenience of mankind. Thus the Sciences, one after another, were born. The pursuit of them has evoked not a little of the best thought of the race. A singular and almost romantic interest has flowed from these matters, bearing with it a perennial charm. With increasing delight and profit we recall the labors of Archimedes, Torricelli, Galvani and Pascal, busy with mundane phenomena; of Galileo, Herschel, Newton, Arago, pondering over the shining autograph of Deity on the vast blue page of heaven; the startling discoveries of Humboldt, Cuvier and Agassiz; the superhuman testimony discovered in the rocks by Miller, Lyell, Sedgwick and Murchison; the curious labors of Davy, Faraday, Lalemand and Liebig, striving beside retort and crucible to wrest a fresh secret from stout-handed Nature; the still more thrilling exploits of Leibnitz, Kant and Hamilton, venturing near the "Holy of Holies,"

[1] Kepler; De Stella Nova.

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built by the Infinite Architect in the intuitions of the race. But while many have been painfully toiling to secure truth illusions have arisen. Not a few persons, ambitious of notoriety, or, lacking the patience and judicial kind of thought requisite for the best attainments, have found it easier to invent hypotheses than to discover and co-ordinate facts. Some experts in one order of science are unfortunately disposed to imagine themselves qualified to reach very valuable conclusions and to give important advice respecting another. Mr. Darwin, e. g., unrivalled as a collector of facts within a certain department of Physics, ventures upon very positive and equally ridiculous dogmas respecting Ethics. Mr. Tyndall, another brilliant specialist in Physics, imagines himself equally at home in the realm of abstract thought and makes the amusing statement that "heat is a mode of motion." Mr. Huxley, another well known and honored expert in Physics, poses as an authority on "Higher Criticism" of the Gospels only to be refuted and proven to be a mere school-boy by the men he quotes as supporters—Renan, Reuss, Pfleiderer and Volkmar. Mr. Schopenhauer, with a capacity for blundering only second perhaps to that of Compte, proposes to reach the height of Ethics, by showing, to all intents and purposes, that the human mind can never attain to it, or, to use his own words, "the human mind is a pendulum, forever swinging between want and ennui." Such examples of peurile conjectures are, unfortunately, superabundant. Hence the necessity for careful discrimination with respect to scientific pursuits and results, is, with every age, becoming more notably apparent.

The study of miracles, which as great exceptional events, specially attesting truth and illustrating revelation, touch in their nature and relations, physical, mental, moral and religious elements and effects, would seem therefore to demand the most dispassionate, comprehensive and keenly analytical effort, combined with a spirit akin to that of Moses putting off his shoes before the burning bush.

Science is regarded as a collection of facts, principles and laws relating to any subject, arranged in a systematic order, or,

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in other words, properly classified knowledge. All science (as man is finite,) is incomplete, experimental, provisional, at best only approximative, and must be so, as long as the capacity for the discovery of facts or principles or laws exists. We speak sometimes for convenience, of the "Exact Sciences," but we are really indulging in a little hyperbole. We are bound therefore to proceed with the utmost caution and may well recall the example of Lord Bacon, patiently accumulating facts and insisting that induction and deduction were trustworthy in proportion as men carefully accumulated and judiciously assorted various data as foundations of faith.

The examination of miracles has often been complicated by prepossessions and conjectures. Men have prejudged many matters by suffering their fondness for speculation to assume autocratic power. They have resembled the man who called on a great chemist and said, "I have discovered a principle explanatory of all the phenomena of chemistry." "I shall be delighted," the scientist replied, "to see it. I have been experimenting for thirty years and have not had the fortune to discover such a thing." After the visitor had presented his ingeniously contrived "principle," the chemist remarked, "There is only one unfortunate thing for your discovery, viz, that the facts are just the reverse of what you suppose them to be." "Oh! never mind that," exclaimed the enthusiast, "let me know what they are that I may explain them on my system!"

Of course the demand made by some persons, that we must approach any subject absolutely divested of any influencing ideas about it, is preposterous. It is a demand never complied with by those who make it. The human mind is so constituted as to make compliance with it impossible. But while this is true, it is also true that men may and ought to carry with them great regulative conceptions of the intellectual proprieties and preserve their mental equilibrium. With regard to the question before us many readers have made the mistake of Strauss. His argument condensed is as follows; Miracles belong to the supernatural; the supernatural is unbelievable, therefore miracles are incredible. There seems to be for some minds a sin-

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gular fascination in thus begging the question, in attempting to determine questions of fact by hypotheses, instead of testing the merits of hypotheses by unmistakable facts. It is not amiss to remember that sheer dogmatism by persons who use their minds as tape-lines by which to measure the universe, is not infallible revelation. All great religions have made provision for miracles. Often the provision has been crude, complex, grotesque, half obscured, associated with indefensible or corrupting tenets, usages and symbols, yet nevertheless pronounced and persistent. Such a fact cannot be overlooked, much less ignored by a truly scientific thinker. We are morally bound also to take *all* the facts into the account; if one known fact is omitted or neglected, it is not impossible that the very element which, if properly considered, would secure conviction, may be omitted or neglected.

Miracles may most profitably, first of all, be investigated with respect to questions of fact. True judgment about questions of fact with regard to miracles depends, 1, upon Secular history and 2, upon the record of the New Testament. If these are laid aside we are totally and hopelessly in the dark.

It is sometimes supposed that the silence of secular writers, especially that of the Roman historian Tacitus, respecting miracles, is ample proof that they did not take place. If the "Annals" of Tacitus were all we had to go by, the question might be regarded as settled. But the silence of one man concerning any fact cannot disprove the positive testimony of many others. It would be worse than idle to expect a heathen to testify to facts which put heathenism to the blush, and particularly when such testimony would have imperiled the historian's neck. There are, nevertheless, in the writings of Tacitus some side lights respecting the influence of Christianity worth careful examination by those who are impressed by this vaunted argument of silence. On the other hand the scientific investigator is met by Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostle John, by Iraneus, Eusebius, and several other eminent critical historians who produce unanswerable evidence that miracles occurred. The actuality of miracles was admitted by the Jews. "The chief

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priests therefore and the Pharisees gathered a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many miracles" (signs). "If we let him thus alone all men will believe on him and the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation." John xi: 47, 48. On other occasions they ascribed his works to the imaginary Devil. After giving the power of speech to the dumb, sight to the two blind men, healing the woman who had an issue of blood twelve years, and raising to life the daughter of the ruler, the multitudes said, "It was never so seen in Israel. But the Pharisees said, by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils." Matt. ix: 18–35. "Of the multitude many believed on him, and they said, When the Christ shall come will he do more miracles (signs) than these which this man hath done?" John vii: 31. Nicodemus was a very sharp lawyer, profoundly learned, accustomed to critical observation, to examining witnesses, weighing evidence, and to prolonged logical study. He said to Christ, "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God, for no man can do these miracles (signs) that thou doest except God be with him.'" John iii: 2.

And from that day to this the Jews have believed in the actuality of the miracles of Jesus. Let him who is incredulous on this point examine their Talmuds. Neither was the reality of miracles questioned by the earlier opponents of Christianity, such men as Julian, Celsus, Porphyry; they all freely admitted them and only tried to neutralize their effect by attributing them to the black art which they assumed that Jesus had learned in Egypt. Hierocles, a heathen philosopher and governor of Alexandria, subject to the Emperor Diocletian, did no more than attempt to compare the acknowledged miracles of Christ with the pretended ones of Apolonius Thyanæus. Josephus put upon the stand testifies to the wonderful works of Christ:[2]

"Now there was about this time Jesus a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he performed many wonderful works. He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews and

[2] Antiquites of the Jews, Bk. xviii, Chap. 3.

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also many Gentiles. This man was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the instigation of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him from the first did not cease to adhere to him; for he appeared to them alive again on the third day; the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of the Christians, so named from him, subsists to this time."

It has been said by Voltaire, echoed by the shallow and declamatory Paine and other imitators of that blasphemer, that the foregoing passage is an interpolation, but we are assured by the most critical authorities that the passage is genuine. They find it in every copy of the works of Josephus now in existence, whether the copy is in manuscript or in print. It forms part of a Hebrew translation to be seen in the Vatican Library. It appears in an Arabic version, now in possession of the Maronites occupying Mt. Libanus. Of church historians Eusebius is the most ancient and he cites the passage. So also do Isidore of Pelusium, Jerome, Sozomen, Rufinus, Cassiodorus, Nicephorus and numerous other ancient authorities. That Eusebius could have forged it, without detection, anyone acquainted with the circumstances of the time can see was simply impossible. The passage was not treated as spurious or even contradicted by any of the assailants of Christianity in the first ages of the faith of Jesus.

II. Miracles depend for acceptance as facts partly, though principally, upon New Testament records. In them we have the testimony of certain men called Evangelists and Apostles. In a work seldom found in this country outside the great libraries, a work by an author no less remarkable for acuteness than for erudition and a judicial type of mind, the eminent jurist Greenleaf gives us a unique view of these apostles as they would appear if called to the witness stand in a regular court. No religious questions are discussed. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are examined and cross-examined in the most determined and searching manner.

As in the author's review of the Spanish San Salvador's "Trial of Jesus," nothing which the keenest legal ingenuity

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can devise or the most extensive and untiring research discover and suggest has been left untried in the examinatian of these Apostles, and they are finally dismissed as men whose testimony, singly or united, cannot be impugned. By common consent the tests of witnesses are declared to be competency, disinterestedness, and veracity.

I. The Apostles were competent. They were not, as many have declared, over-credulous. Again and again our Lord rebuked them for their slowness of belief. Besides this Thomas possessed the faculty and disposition for critical investigation in a marked degree. No report of what others had seen was sufficient for him. "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe. John xx: 25. Luke, also, was an accomplished physician, accustomed, as his writings show, to examine with great sagacity and particularity symptoms, ailments, and the history of what had been done in various cases to mitigate pain, or extirpate disease, with the probing minuteness for which the best of his craft are proverbially famous. Paul, too, was a man not to be imposed upon by vagaries, not to be tricked into acceptance of specious and ex-parte statement, not to be deluded into substituting fiction for history or sophisms for legitimate arguments.

For many years the writings of that great lawyer have been considered by the most influential jurists as masterpieces, worthy the most profound study of men especially skilled in observing facts and testing the most subtile reasoning based upon them. Many who disrelished the Christian faith have acknowledged the captivating power of that astute master of the art of weighing and assorting evidence and the kindred art of dialectical discussion and have been ready to say with Aaron Burr, "I hate your doctrine, but I love your argument."

With singularly unscientific heedlessness and sometimes with culpable assurance, it has been said that the New Testament epistles are silent on the subject of miracles. It is enough to say in reply that with the exception of the utterances of Jesus, the most elaborate, comprehensive and stimulating discourse

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ever addressed to mankind on the subject of immortality is found in the letters of the Apostle Paul to the church at Corinth, where he avows his unshakable belief in the most stupendous of all the miracles of old, the resurrection of our Lord. So mighty and conclusive has the great argument of inspiration been on this subject that the fifteenth chapter of Ist Corinthians for nearly two thousand years, has disarmed death of his terror in every land beneath the sun. These apostolic witnesses had extensive and numerous opportunities of seeing the unique sign-worker put to the severest tests.

II. The Evangelists were disinterested. They had nothing to gain by giving accounts of the unparalleled works of Christ. Their testimonies drew upon them the contempt, distrust, maledictions and implacable fury of many of their countrymen, together with the suspicion, detestation and vindictiveness of an overwhelming nation that rushed upon the Christians with axe and cross, wild beasts and martyr fires.

III. The Evangelists were truthful. While the accounts given by different Apostles sometimes differ, the difference is not that of contrariety or discrepancy, but such as men everywhere are accustomed to observe as the result of diversified human faculties affected in greater or less degree by a variety of circumstances. It is to be remembered also that the Evangelists were not deposing to doctrine or philosophies which might produce illusions, but to palpable things taking place often in various parts of Palestine, with no attempt at secrecy, many of them in the midst of multitudes of people, not a few of whom were violently hostile to the great sign-worker.

In the light of these facts the genuinely scientific thinker can examine some special philosophies, conjectures, objections and fancies. We hear much in some quarters of "Physical miraclet." This is a bad use of language and elucidates the subject in hand as brilliantly as the explanation given by a gentleman with regard to the destructive effects of lightning—they were due, he said, "to the demolishing properties of electricity." Such talk reminds us of Drummond's unscientific and otherwise unreliable book entitled "Natural Law in the Spiritual

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World." There is no such law there. The legitimate conception is that of *spiritual law in the natural world.* That law is everywhere. All miracles are spiritual, the manifestation of Divine Personality and potency amidst physical, intellectual and moral affairs and elements. Some persons are accustomed to speak loosely of "Law Violating Miracles." They imagine that a miracle could not take place without disturbing the "Order of Nature," that there is such a thing as the "Fixity of Nature," etc. As matter of fact everything in nature is constantly undergoing change. Given a God of infinite and absolute goodness, wisdom, free-will, activity and power, the natural and reasonable inference, judging from what he has already done and from his character,—"the same yesterday, to-day and forever,"—is that he is as vigorously and busily a *Creator* now as he was in that distant time when he said "Let there be light." Given the fact of such a God of infinite and absolute goodness, wisdom, free-will, activity and power, then miracles are *matters of course*, perfectly and unconditionally inevitable, and so long as he remains the Deity the facts of his unique character and potency can and doubtless will be thus attested.

The immutability of the "Order of Nature" as it is called, with which mortals are at present familiar, is chimerical. The introduction of each new species, as pointed out by science, is a change in the "Order of Nature" the several results of the exertions of a power different from a "Course of Nature." To constitute an "Order of Nature," something more than a mere succession of events is requisite; the greater question is what was the *mode* of exertion, what insured the *continuity* and manifest *adaptation* of events. We know there are prodigious gaps among these events, gaps which cannot be filled with mere hypotheses. New forms of life came on after immense and anything but regular intervals. We see the confirmations of this truth in chemistry, geology, biology, etc. And there is no explanation of this by any mental legerdermain with evolution for its symbol. Witness the testimony of the peerless Virchow and his most learned associates within the last few months at Vienna.

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God has said, "I am the Lord, *I* change not," but he has never given the faintest intimation that he could have but one method of accomplishing his purposes. We cannot predicate necessity of Him who doeth his pleasure in the Heavens and on earth. If his hands are restricted in their movements who established the restriction?

The phrase "Order of Nature," is only a convenient expression signifying the course of events which mankind have observed. But man's observation is confessedly very limited and to say that there could be no deviation from any observed order would be to say that nothing could be possible to the Infinite which was not or is not cognizable by the finite. This would be obviously absurd. It is therefore unscientific for any one to assume the perpetual invariableness of any particular "Order of Nature," so long as God, the author of nature, is boundless in wisdom and moral freedom and omnipotent in grace.

The patient watcher of the skies does not assume that the originating force of the Almighty is exhausted, but waits to see "the new planet swim within his ken." The historian, the geologist, the chemist, the electrician, the mechanician, all with one accord testify that they believe themselves to have made only a beginning in their respective spheres of investigation. In a word, no man, even with the learning of Erasmus, Cudworth, Humboldt or Joseph Henry, claims to have found out the entire "Order of Nature" in any direction.

Besides this, God is constantly bringing about results in part by combination and adjustment, and thereby in infinitely normal fashion, foreshadowing, elucidating and confirming truth. Let us take as a single illustration the case of an eagle hovering over the sea. One law is that the action of his wings shall send him ahead and upward; another law is that the atmosphere shall to a certain extent resist his passage; another law is that a certain force shall pull him toward the ocean; another law is that he shall have freedom to go and come. And yet as the result of the combination and adjustment of all these laws with others and with various forces, by the Creator of the

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eagle acting constantly through them all, the bird is poised in one spot above the deep. Solomon, who is supposed to have known something, said that among the things too hard for his understanding was "the way of an eagle in the air." It seems a pity that he had no opportunity to take lessons of some persons who have discarded a belief in the supernatural.

There is an "Order of Nature" in iniquity. All men are sinners. Yet that order of depraved life common to them all is slowly giving way before God's infinite agencies of grace. Yet no man's freedom of will is violated, not a single faculty of mind or heart is interfered with and Jehovah's liberty remains unchecked, unlimited.

The truly scientific mind, and, pre-eminently the Universalist Christian mind, rejoices in this changeableness of nature. The fact of Deity would seem to necessitate the conviction that he may have and in all probability will have innumerable Orders of Nature, or in other words, processes of illustrating his character and confirming his truth by countless varieties of physical, intellectual, social and religious phenomena.

A spectacle calculated to rouse curiosity is that afforded by many persons who assume that they are competent to dogmatize upon these matters while exhibiting a strange want of acquaintance with the works of the greatest thinkers and investigators interested in these subjects. How many writers and speakers among those who refuse belief in miracles, for example, do we find making any allusion to the views of such acute and comprehensive examiners as Origen, Leibnitz, Bourdaloue, Spinoza, Kant, Bp. Butler, Chillingworth, Hume, Cudworth, Lardner, Campbell, Chalmers, Sir Wm. Hamilton, Abp. Whately, Dr. McCosh, Canon Mozely and the Duke of Argyle? So far as we have observed, none of these colossal thinkers judged himself competent to settle the great question of the evidential value of miracles without trying to make himself acquainted with the conclusions reached by his great contemporaries or their predecessors.

The notion that accounts of miracles were expressions of "subjective states" of the Disciples may be briefly noticed.

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If admitted it would prove too much, which is hazardously unscientific. All other accounts given by the Disciples would have to be disposed of in the same way. The ruler, e.g., never went to Christ saying, "Come down ere my child die," the Apostles only imagined that the ruler did so. The woman was not healed of an issue of blood, the Evangelists only fancied such a transaction. There really was no resurrection of the son of the widow of Nain, and Lazarus of Bethany; the Disciples merely described a phantasy of their own minds. There was no night of anguish in Gethsemane, no scene of agony on Calvary, no rending of the veil of the temple, no entombing of Jesus in the rock-hewn sepulchre of Joseph, no Roman death-watch set around the tomb, no rolling away of the stone, no lifting power of God's right hand to set the Redeemer again upon earth, verifying his prophecy, heralding the death of Death, and with ineffable gentleness and love giving an earnest of that day when every tear of sorrow shall be wiped from thousands of millions of faces. If some presumptuous speculators are to be trusted all this had nothing more substantial about it than the "baseless fabric of a vision!"

In affinity with such a deplorable illusion is the supposition indulged occasionally that although Jesus may have discoursed and behaved in the main as represented in the Gospels, the accounts of his matchless works have been added by a later hand. Those who make suppositions of this sort should not forget that the burden of proof rests upon them and be kind enough to point out the hand. But at a glance we see it to be morally impossible that any one could *invent* miracles, or accounts of them, which would exactly correspond with the spirit, tenor and purposes of our Lord's life and with all the prophecies concerning him for thousands of years. Matthew and Mark have always been regarded as men of no inventive genius. If it should be alleged that these accounts of Christ's wonderful works sprang from popular stories we scientifically insist on the presentation of proof.

Such proof is not likely to be forthcoming, for *I.* In all probability such stories would have been told about the Saviour's

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works as were current with respect to the pretended miracles of Simon Magus and Apolonius, representing them as having flown about like a bird, put on two faces, made dogs of brass and stone to bark, etc. Such fictions are always grotesque, undignified, confused and inconsistent. *II.* The most lynx-eyed search has never discovered any such stories relating to Christ, circulated or believed by any of his Apostles. Those matchless works of the Messiah were adjusted to one another with reference to the whole helpful and momentous moral teaching and predictions of Moses, Ezekiel, Isaiah and the other prophets for forty centuries, as completely and smoothly as the various colors of the rainbow blend with each other in that majestic arch of seven-fold glory. Like that phenomenon of nature they stand in grandeur, consistency and practicality, absolutely unequalled by the works of any other person in the long lapse of ages since humanity was stamped with the "image and superscription" of Jehovah. People who take lessons of Renan and similar assumers should recollect that myths do not, like miracles, harmonize with prophecy or with a scheme of world-wide renovation.

It is now and then proposed to accept the accounts of some of the miracles, e. g., those of healing, but to remain incredulous respecting others. This is glaringly unscientific. The records of the miracles of healing were made by the same persons who furnished the accounts of the transformation at the wedding feast in Cana, the feeding of "about five thousand men beside women and children," the bestowment of sight upon the blind, the recovery of Lazarus from the grave, and the bodily resurrection of our Lord.

If the statements of the witnesses with respect to the former cases are worthy of credence, they are clearly just as worthy of confidence in regard to the latter. They are made by the same Apostles under the same conditions of personal observation and peril, for the same great purpose of attesting the Heaven-given commission of One who was solemnly declared to be "the Son of God with power."

If a man were to attempt the settlement of a case in court

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upon incomplete testimony, or of testimony which was accepted or rejected according to the predilections, conjectures or fancies of a given advocate, he would promptly be informed that his method was that of a special pleader, uncandid, superficial, inequitable. He could fairly be told that he resembled the Dutch justice who said to the members of the bar, "Shentlemens, dis case has been ferry ably argued on bote sides and some ferry nice points of law haf been brought up; I shall dake dree days to consider dis case, but I shall eventually decide for de plaintiff."

If the records concerning miracles are to be disbelieved, the testimony about all other matters written of by the Apostles must in simple consistency also be rejected root and branch. And yet it has been and is the fashion in some quarters to say that the proof of Christ's moral kingship or spiritual authority is found, not in his works but in his teachings. But the fact incontestably is that all accounts of what he *said* are given us by the very men who tell us what he *did*. Shut the New Testament and where shall we look for proof that he ever uttered a word of the those specific truths declared to be "the glorious gospel of the grace of God?" Besides, none of these Apostolic accounts bear the ear-marks of legends. They have not followed the law or shared the fate of legends. Those flourish with marked limitations for awhile, then lose weight and tend toward oblivion. But the records given by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John have been tried as by fire and found to be without dross, they have been weighed in the balance and not found wanting, and are to-day more widely, vigorously and gratefully accepted than any other histories on the globe. They have an astonishing vitality, manifesting its influence more and more as the world grows older, and millions are yearly added to those whose whose faces are turned toward Heaven.

Even among the Jews, unsurpassed as sifters of historico-religious evidence, strong voices are lifted from time to time, declaring that Jesus was a sublime teacher, an unequalled reformer, a phenomenal Son of God. David Hume was easily the most astute and subtle reasoner who ever tried to invalidate

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the testimony of the Evangelists. He contended that we have uninterrupted proof of the uniformity of nature and proof also of the unreliableness of human testimony, and drew the conclusion that miracles being, as he said, opposed to that uniformity, could not be accepted on the declarations of witnesses.

Any one who will take the trouble to go over his elaborate argument will readily see that he exhibits a strange confidence in the very thing which he disparages, whenever testimony seems to favor his assumption, that he has failed to discriminate between different kinds of testimony, blundered in taking it for granted that all knowledge is derived from experience, and also begged a great question vital to the settlement of belief in miracles by his unwarranted assumption about nature. His signal failure to make out his case has been so clearly shown by Chalmers, Whately, Mozely, and other great thinkers, that imitations of his fallacies are doomed to instant destruction.

The student who cares to go below the surface in the examination of this whole question will find a vast treasury of learning and rational reasoning in Lardner's "Credibility of the New Testament," Isaac Taylor's "History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times," Chalmer's "Evidences of the Christian Revelation," Greenleaf's "Testimony of the Evangelists," and the Bampton Lectures of Mozley.

Science must take account also of the remarkable fact that Jesus Christ, confessedly the clearest-minded, deepest and most truthful soul ever seen on earth, firmly believed and constantly taught that these miracles were planned and executed in the wisdom of God, to a accomplish a beneficent purpose of the Almighty, and were indispensable to mankind, He deliberately, solemnly and repeatedly claimed to have done these works while influenced by the Spirit of God. "The Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works." John xiv.: 10. "Many good works have I shown you from my Father." John x: 32.

Our Saviour regarded these miracles, as the brightest and most cogent confirmation of his doctrine, official station, per-

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rogatives, power and responsibilities. "I must work the works of him that sent me." John ix.: 4. "I have greater witness than that of John; the works that I do, they bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me." John v.: 36. Observe the Saviour's answer to the men who came inquiring "Art thou he that should come or look we for another?" "In that same hour he cured many of their infirmities and plagues and of evil spirits, and unto many that were blind he gave sight. Then Jesus answering said to them, 'Go your way and tell John what thimgs ye have seen and heard, how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached.'" Luke vii.: 21, 22. "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples which are not written in this book; but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." John xx.: 30, 31. The Revisers, consistently with these and many other testimonies, translate the word rendered miracles in the old Version, by the word "signs."

Lastly let us glance at the practical effect of miracles. Sublime moral results were achieved by the labors of the earlier Disciples of Christ. They liberated men enthralled by false philosophies and shackled by dreadful superstitions. They overthrew massive prejudices, helped to purify social life and laid foundations for institutions and usages designed to migigate and remove physical and mental suffering in all quarters of the earth. Even unbelievers themselves in our day become eloquent in praise of the Christian church, which, as Lecky, the historian of Rationalism observes, "has covered over the whole surface of the globe with institutions of mercy absolutely unknown to the whole Pagan world." There is no intimation in sacred or profane history that such results as these with their Heaven-given prophecy of the moral transformation of mankind, sprung from any mere evolution of human ability, but the evidence is abundant to show that they were produced by matchless doctrines peculiarly applied to human hearts. To make these doctrines efficacious "mighty works" were done by the Son of God expressly *as* the Son of God.

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He who is desirous of founding his convictions of religion upon the broadest basis of induction, will as a scientific thinker keep that fact unflinchingly and constantly before him. The world was not to be indispensably and divinely revolutionized by the mere assertion of Jesus Christ himself. The resistless argument of Peter on the great day of Pentecost has lost none of its cogency in the long lapse of centuries, —"Jesus of Nazareth, a man *approved* of God unto you by mighty works, and wonders and signs which God did by him." Acts ii. : 22.

The limits assigned this paper, prevent the extended examination which we would gladly give to other aspects of this question, but we trust enough has been said to present and justify our purpose. "With malice toward none, with charity for all," we reject the rejection of miracles as utterly unscientific, as demanding credulity vastly greater than that required by the Saviour for the acceptance of his divine credentials, as substituting hypotheses at once inadequate, illogical, inconsistent, for facts, clear to the gaze and convincing to the judgment of thousands of his contemporaries, many of them his avowed and unrelenting enemies. We reject the so-called rationalistic treatment of these peerless signs of the Son of God, as unreasonable, as doing violence to the first principles of evidence and the intuitions of all souls; as tending to weaken reverence for the pre-eminent Book of God, as neglecting to take all the facts into the account, and especially the salutary effects the world over of belief in miracles as conducive to the noblest spiritual devotion. We read in the most holy of sacred books, "He that believeth will not make haste."

The universe is not "governed by law" but by the infinite, undying and infallible Law-maker. There is evidently a vast region of divine law which we no more comprehend as yet than we comprehend how "the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind," or how he sets his sign-manual in the clouds, the atmosphere and the sea.

Kepler when told that his "Harmonies of the World" would not be read for a century, replied, "It may well wait a cen-

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tury for a reader when God has waited six thousand years for an observer." We can wait for the larger explanation of the Creator's purposes manifested to humanity in the works of the unmatched Messiah. Meanwhile it appears to us that the only solid scientific ground for Universalist Christians is that on which they stand to affirm with deepening humility, faith and gratitude that the Bible is the miracle of literature, that Christ was a living miracle, and that God is now engaged in the most stupendous miracle ever begun under heaven,—the regeneration of the entire human race. *Solon A. Whitcomb.*

Article XV.

Five Theories Concerning Morals.

The title given to this article has been matured—not selected, but literally matured—with much deliberation, and with the intent to be as precise as the nature of the theme makes practicable. The suggestion of the title came from the very scholarly work, "Four Phases of Morals," by John Stuart Blackie, of the University of Edinburg. It was seen, however, that the word "phases," if used with anything of literalness, makes a concession which the purpose of his book specifically negatives. He classes the phases as they are respectively represented by Socrates, Aristotle, Christianity and Utilitarianism. But he aims to show, and has no difficulty in the attempt, that Utilitarianism is no morality at all—that it wholly leaves out the moral element. Obviously that is a misleading use of words which virtually concedes the very thing which it is proposed to deny. It is akin to calling darkness a "phase" of light. No one at all informed in regard to the discussion of moral and spiritual themes will insist upon great precision in the selecting of the principal terms. In fact these terms can at the best be little other than metaphors—physical words borrowed to do spiritual service. Yet the difficulty should be minimized.

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To this end we have struggled in an endeavor not to surrender our specific thought in the framing of the cognomen of our theme. At the first we weighed the word notions as non-committal in reference to the specific thing under discussion; but the phrase, "notion of morals," seems to imply something of the fatal concession; a notion is at the least a faint yet real image of the thing to which it refers. We hesitated over the preposition "of" in place of what was finally preferred—"concerning," in the title as we now give it. The conclusion reached was that there is a needless amount of surrender in the smaller term. It was concluded that there might be a theory "concerning" a particular matter even though the theorizing left out every essential of the thing whereof there was an attempt to form a conception. The "Poor Indian" of Pope's famous verse had a theory concerning the heavenly estate, though, as the Christian definition would imply, it missed every essential of the reality. This revelation of a mental struggle for an accurate nomenclature will have served a purpose if it impresses the need not simply of clear ideas, but of verbal consistency and uniformity in their elucidation.

Discussions pertaining to ethics have epochal characteristics. There is a sequential unfolding in the general elucidation. Notions that dominate in one epoch become effete in another. To a great extent, a correct theory pertaining to morals will reflect the mental and moral status of the time,—will reflect it though in the elucidation of elect souls it will lead, often going on far before, the time. The theory, however, which dominates will be largely but a reflection of the current thought and life of the epoch. As will presently appear, Evolution, having now the belief of the mass of scientists, gives an *epochal* character to current popular theories concerning morals. The bulk of this article will therefore be devoted to this phase of the subject,—of the subject if not of the essential thing. We shall briefly pass in review the more salient epochal theories, that the particular one now challenging the world's attention may be more clearly apprehended in the light of antecedent philosophies.

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The theories which pertain to morals are many or few according to the principle of classification. In other words, the classification is somewhat arbitrary, and in regard to it no one can be authority for any other. Dr. Martineau has recently shown that the ethical types may be regarded as very numerous with sharp lines of demarcation.[1] Mr. Blackie, as we have had occasion to note, makes "four phases" comprehensive. Each thinker must accompany his classification with definition. For our present purpose we outline as sufficiently inclusive, five theories. Associating with each its most representative name, they are as follows: 1. The Political theory, —Thomas Hobbes; 2. The Selfish theory,—William Paley; 3. The Utilitarian theory,—Jeremy Bentham; 4. The Evolution theory,—Herbert Spencer; 5. The Intuition theory,—of which there have been, and there yet are, a vast number of representatives,—all of whom would, in this age, acknowledge the preeminence of Jesus of Nazareth; though perhaps not many would designate it as a "theory."

1. Only an historic interest attaches to the theory first in the order of this classification. It may be doubted if at this date Thomas Hobbes has a single avowed disciple. He flourished in the days of the English Restoration, and a desire to stand well with rulers may—and it may not—have been an influence in the shaping of his philosophy. In his day he certainly had great prestige as a strong thinker and vigorous writer. He must have had a passion for the darker annals of mankind, for he fancied that he saw in history that war is the natural estate of human society. Left to themselves, without check or hindrance, the hands of every man would in literal fact be raised against those of all other men. The basal law was antagonism. But as the operation of the mutually aggressive temper must prove suicidal, it became simply yet absolutely necessary, that a check should be put thereupon. Self-protection came to the relief, and government was thereby established. This made rules in the enforcement of which man was protected from the violence of his fellows. Governmental law, or the decrees of monarchs, made duties. The concrete

[1] "Types of Ethical Theory," James Martineau, D. D., LL. D.

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will of the community thus formulated was the only conscience; in that will, morals had their origin. Virtue was simply and exclusively obedience to governmental requirement. Sin was indeed, in apostolic phrase, "a transgression of the law," but the law was simply the formulation in human law of the general will.

If we may believe Sir John Lubbock, certain species of insects live in society. They go into battle with their enemies, under leaders. They have laws to which obedience is enjoined. And all this presumably to the end of self-preservation. Such insects are therefore, according to the philosophy of Hobbes, moral beings; they are really sinful or virtuous, and are so according as they obey or disobey their social ruler. They have conscience in exactly the same sense that man has. So far as morals are concerned, the particular insects and man differ only in degree; not at all in quality!

Hobbes's philosophy, as such, is wholly effete. No one now, except the ethical specialist, even reads his writings. By general consent it may be set down as grotesque. Yet under other forms its equivalent is by no means wholly effete. In certain particulars it is by no means wholly a thing of the past. There are persons certainly not wholly disreputable who would not hesitate to engage in the slave-trade if law gave them its sanction. To not a few a legal permission is thought to make the liquor traffic sinless. Not more than thirty years ago Mr. Seward averred that there is a law higher than the National Constitution, which evoked the indignant censure of Senator Cass, and tempted Daniel Webster to an outburst of sarcasm which made his political admirers and immediate hearers express their assent in audible applause. And to-day the decrees of the Vatican are by thousands of our citizens thought to be the source of highest morals. But in form and in intention the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes has in the present not even an apologist.

2. The Selfish theory appears to us the most fitting designation for the teaching of William Paley, whose manual held an almost exclusive place in the theological curriculum of a

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time which those not yet old distinctly remember. Nearly every Calvinistic divine who has reached three score and ten was in his youth a docile student of Paley, with no more thought of questioning his instructor than the Catholic has of arguing with his priest. Paley's definition of morals has at least the merit of being unambiguous: "The doing of good to mankind in obedience to the will of God, *for the sake of eternal happiness.*" Had the definition ended with the words "the will of God," the statement would have been good to that extent, but in the lack of a definition of motive it would have been incomplete. If we may assume,—and by general consent we may,—that the quality of a voluntary act is always to be determined by the reason that incites it, we know not how Paley could have made a clearer statement of the selfish, had it even been his intent to do so. He evidently had a suspicion that his theory would evoke troublesome criticism to the effect that his notion concerning duty was no more nor less than that of prudence; and this he sought to forestall by making a distinction where in fact there is no difference. He explained that an act of prudence considers "what we shall gain or lose *in this world*," but that an act of duty considers "what we shall gain or lose *in the world to come.*" As Dr. Hedge succinctly phrases it, "Paley, then, is an Epicurean, differing from the Sage of Athens only in seeking satisfaction in another world, instead of this."[2]

Although the "trend of thought" has notably in the last two decades, had the effect of driving this once almost despotic master from his chair, the phraseology of his theory yet survives in the creeds called "evangelical." All the noted revivalists up to the advent of Mr. Moody, worked almost exclusively on the basis of Paley's definition. Salvation as the synonym of safety; the end and aim of life on earth that of forestalling doom in the world to come; the insuring of heaven as "the great reward;" good conduct on earth of value chiefly as a condition of happiness after leaving earth,—such up to the beginning of the present generation was the staple of the teach-

[2] Article "Ethical Systems," in *North American Review.*"

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ing in the nominally "evangelical" administration of the Gospel. The sermons of Spurgeon and Talmage attest that the "selfish theory" is not yet wholly effete. Yet it has got to be very exceptional and fitful, whereas in a former generation it was constant and almost exclusive.

3. The Utilitarian theory would by its definition seem to make it the equivalent of. or another name for, the selfish. On the contrary, it includes elements that, *as respects the motives of individuals*, are noble and disinterested. Jeremy Bentham is rightly credited as its author, though subsequent writers, including—and by great pre-eminence,—John Stuart Mill, have greatly extended and refined it. In the form in which it now stands it may be called "The greatest-happiness-principle." Indeed, Bentham, who got weary of the term "Utilitarianism," selected this as a preferable cognomen. The principle includes two elements,—first, that of the greatest amount of happiness to *the individual;* and second, its extent in respect to the *largest number* of individuals. To act with a view to the greatest happiness in both of these regards, is the ideal of virtue. Therein is the totality and the essence of morals. In fact, virtue considered apart from the contemplating of this comprehensive result is a word without even a conceivable meaning. It is not that virtue creates the greatest amount of happiness, time for a full outcome being taken into account; few would think of disputing this. Such a definition gives virtue an existence prior to, and hence independent of, the happiness that is to result. On the contrary, virtue, according to "The greatest happiness principle," exists in the act of creating the happiness, is substantially identical with it.

As refined and ennobled by Bentham's disciples, Utilitarianism may, often does, make it a person's duty to suffer—even to make a complete sacrifice. On the supposition that Leonidas saw, or thought he saw, that by suffering himself to be slain at the Pass, his countrymen would be saved the horror of a Persian conquest, and that this expectation was the sole motive of his act, he was utilitarian. He took into the account the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Even in that mercantile estimate, *he* at least was unselfish, and the example of his

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heroism comes as an electric thrill all along the ages; in truth that example was a factor in the great struggle at Bunker Hill, and it helped make firm the veterans who before the terrible charge stood firm on Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg. The man who acts upon this calculation: "There are three of us; if I save my own life, two lives are sacrificed; if I sacrifice my own life, two lives are saved; I decide to act with a view to the happiness of the greatest number,"—acts on the utilitarian principle; but so far as he is personally considered, the act is nobly unselfish.

The fallacy in this theory is that it confounds cause and effect. It places in the effect the moral quality that really exists in the cause. In the presence of every great contingency it sets the individual to calculating! The heroic Swiss who guided into his own bosom the spears that otherwise would have pierced his fellow soldiers, is presumed to have done so as the outcome of a mathematical solution. The heroism was not in him as an innate principle; he put it there, and only after the calculation that thereby the benefit would accrue to the largest number. There is no moral sense behind it; there is simply a mental deduction following it.

In fact the theory is absurd. It supposes the impossible. As J. D. Morrell well says; "There is a secret *petitio principii* at the very foundation of all utilitarian reasoning, like that of Bentham's. Every man, it is affirmed, *ought* to seek the greatest happiness of the greatest number, as the fundamental principle of his actions in the world. But why *ought* he to do so? On what ground can it be shown that I am bound to seek the welfare of myself or my fellow creatures, if there is no such thing as moral obligation? If it *pleases* me more to inflict misery upon mankind, why am I not just as virtuous an agent in doing so, as if I please myself by producing their happiness? The greatest-happiness-principle itself must, in fact, rest upon the pedestal of moral obligation, otherwise there is no means of enforcing it as the true principle of action, either in our social or our political relations."[3]

[3] "An Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century." Chap. iv.

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4. With the question of the truth or even of the doctrine of Evolution—that department of it which affects to trace the origin of man to lower species—we are not here concerned. The matter is in the hands of specialists, who alone can—who presumably at last will—determine its merits. We are of the number who without a shadow of anxiety patiently await the issue.

What concerns us here is the fact that the acceptance of the Evolution principle compels an endeavor to account for the moral sense—at least for the existence of such a thing as morals. To Herbert Spencer more than to any other person belongs the credit of formally and boldly making the effort. This fact, in connection with the further fact that Mr. Spencer, both as an analytical and synthetical thinker—implying gifts that rarely combine in the same person—has few peers in the intellectual world, and that while he leads the thinking of a much larger number of persons than are strongly influenced by any contemporary, gives a profound extrinsic interest to his argumentation in seeking to account for the moral faculty in the light of Evolution. In fact, as all who strive to keep abreast of the current intellectual movements well know, no small proportion of modern discussions in relation to morals hinges upon the attitude, real or supposed, of this original thinker and copious writer.

The critics of Mr. Spencer, with special reference to that department of his philosophy which deals with ethics, habitually complain that he is a materialist,—which logically means that he virtually leaves the ethical element out of his ethics. They make the charge that his so called moral deductions are made from facts empirically determined; that there is no connection between his data and the verbal affirmation of his conclusions; that he provides for no such thing as a moral sense as one of the soul's primitive faculties. Mr. Spencer has a habit—is it a weakness?—of turning aside from his regular work to take up the cudgels in rejoinders to his critics.[4] He

[4] In a volume recently published by James H. West, Boston, "Evolution, Popular Lectures and Discussions before the Brooklyn Ethical Association," containing a variety of essays by as many different writers, Mr. Daniel Greenleaf Thompson

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vehemently protests that he is *not* a materialist, and that the charge, having been based upon a superficial reading of what he has written, is now wantonly and recklessly reiterated as a matter of habit. He explicitly and renewedly affirms his acceptance of the doctrine of a moral sense as something quite other than a mere calculation of expedients; and he fortifies his affirmation with particular citations from his writings. An article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for July, 1869, by Mr. Richard Hutton, entitled "A Questionable Parentage of Morals," particularly incensed Mr. Spencer, at whom the criticism was aimed; and it brought from him a reply in the *Fortnightly Review* for April, 1871, entitled "Morals and the Moral Sentiments."[5] In this reply he makes the following citation from his Letter to John Stuart Mill, upon which letter Mr. Hutton based in part his criticism:

"Morality, properly so called—the science of right conduct—has for its object to determine *how* and *why* certain modes of conduct are detrimental, and certain other modes beneficial. These good and bad results cannot be accidental, but must be the necessary consequences of the constitution of things; and I concede it to be the business of Moral Science to deduce from the laws of life and the conditions of existence, what kinds of actions necessarily tend to produce happiness, and what kinds to produce unhappiness. Having done this, its deductions are to be recognized as laws of conduct, and are to be conformed to irrespective of a direct estimation of happiness or reasoning."

While this statement comports with the doctrine of a moral sense as integral in human nature,—particularly in its referring the "how" and the "why" to "the constitution of things,"—the statement is made ambiguous,—it requires some sympathy for the author not to say that it is neutralized,—by the closing statement that moral science deduces the kinds of action that "produce happiness," and the kinds that "produce unhappi

gives a biographical sketch of Mr. Spencer, with some account of his writings. In reference to the point raised in the text, he says of Spencer: "He is fond of striking back at his critics, and has more than once turned aside from his work to take notice of strictures upon his views, when there was little utility in so doing."

[5] Afterwards published with other essays in book form, with the title "Recent Discussions in Science, Philosophy and Morals."

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ness. Unquestionably moral acts in the aggregate of results *do* produce happiness; to doubt this would be to impeach the Divine goodness; but to say that the ethical element is *in* that tendency is to confound the moral sense with the sense that is simply beneficent. Mr. Spencer is far more explicit when he in form repels the notion which Mr. Hutton attributed to him, "that the moral sentiment is formed out of *conscious generalizations* respecting what is beneficial and what is detrimental." Spencer's words are: "Such is *not* my hypothesis." If this reply to Mr. Hutton were the whole of Mr. Spencer's deliverances on the subject of morals, we should say that they do not warrant the charge that he is a materialist; but they would to many minds leave the impression that of his many remarkable gifts the talent to discourse wisely of ethics is not one.

Mr. Spencer is more explicit and satisfactory in his "Social Statics," and also in certain parts of his "Principles of Psychology." In the former, he classifies the moral sense as one of the "instincts," analogous to that which is at the base of the domestic relations, and he does this in terms which preclude the notion of its being generalized out of precedent experiences.

Were either of the works just named, particularly the "Social Statics," inclusive of all his utterances on the subject of ethics, he would have good reason to complain of the critics who class him as a materialist. Unfortunately they are not thus inclusive; and what adds to the misfortune, in later writings he refuses to accept the "Social Statics" as accurately expressing his later views. In his preface to the American edition of that work, he desires it to be understood that the book is not "a literal expression" of his views at the date of the preface,—1864,—that "during the fourteen years that" had "elapsed since the original publication of the work, the general theory which it enumerates" had "undergone, in his mind,—considerable further development and some accompanying modifications;" that while adhering "to the leading principles," he did not "abide by all the detailed application of them." Mr. Daniel Greenleaf Thompson, in his sketch of Mr.

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Spencer's life and writings, already referred to, says: "In 1850 he published 'Social Statics,' his first important work, but one with which he was so much dissatisfied afterwards, that *he tried to suppress it.*"[6] No specification is made of the particulars in this early work which he afterwards wished to cancel, but it is probable that on becoming an evolutionist, and in placing a general scheme of philosophy on the basis of evolution, he found that his somewhat youthful creation would not fit in to the new programme.

What we must call the instinct-fact as more than theory is also affirmed in "Principles of Psychology." In his reply to Mr. Hutton already referred to, he defends himself by appealing to certain passages in this work,—so far a testimony to the doctrine of a primitive ethical instinct as late as 1870, though that book was written in 1855, and is the one in which he reached the conclusion that Evolution is at once fact and law. In his reply to Mr. Hutton he also makes citations from his Letter to John Stuart Mill, in which he avows the doctrine of absolute right as the basis of all just codes of morals; though as we expect to show, negatived by an essential formulation of of his evolution theory made in the same letter.

The fact seems to be that in passing from what is called the special creation theory to that of Evolution, Mr. Spencer had the common experience: he did not all at once throw off his early beliefs; by force of habit and half unconsciously, he took into his new mental status opinions which he gradually discovered, or thought he discovered, would not harmonize with the new theory—that of evolution.

The fact, however, that he calls the moral sense an instinct, and the accompanying fact that he verbally and formally and even indignantly avers that those who reiterate the charge that he is a materialist, simply misrepresent him, and that they do this recklessly in the very presence of his contrary affirmation, would, at the first thought, seem to be conclusive. Certainly, —as it will by many be assumed—a man ought to know what his own opinions are, and when he firmly and formally defines

[6] Evolution, Popular Lectures and Discussions, etc., p. 5.

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them, to deny the things he affirms is simply to question his veracity. In this instance, however, "the first thought" is quite at fault. Even as a general statement, considered without any thought of its particular bearing upon Mr. Spencer, it is not true that every thinker is the best judge of the quality of his own opinions. Jonathan Edwards ascribed to God a course of conduct so absolutely fiendish, that it would revolt the humane in the nature even of a primitive Algonquin; but in the same breath ejaculated over his infinite goodness! Even in the present age, Dr. Shedd never seems to doubt the purity and ineffableness of God's love, though were a human being, tinged with even a homeopathic dilution of the spirit which he attributes to God, to enter his door, he would summon the police. "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of" has application to theories not less than to character. Possibly the poorest witness we could summon to give testimony as to the moral quality of a particular philosophy, would be none other than the very author and creator of the theory.

We in no regard imply or believe aught to the prejudice of Mr. Spencer's veracity. We read him to be profoundly impressed that he is brave and honest, that without mental reservation or intentional ambiguity, he seeks in every paragraph to state the thought that is in him. We find in his pages a "Darwinian candor" that is also a moral tonic. But we come deliberately to the conclusion that about the poorest witness to the ethical quality of the Spencerian philosophy is Herbert Spencer.

In regard to the humane value of Calvinism, we base our judgments not upon the *testimonies* of Calvin, Edwards, or Shedd, but on the *system* of Calvinism; so in regard to Mr. Spencer's philosophy "concerning" morals, we rightfully decline to accept the testimony of Mr. Spencer, and also that of any and all his disciples, while we look directly and solely to the system—*the philosophy itself.* To get a just apprehension of the system, we shall do well to look into its history, particularly its antecedents. In the "American Notice of a New System of Philosophy, by Herbert Spencer," prefixed to "Illustra-

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tions of Universal Progress,"—a collection of Mr. Spencer's discussions—the writer says:

"To Mr. Spencer the one conception which spans the universe and solves the widest range of its problems—which reaches outward through boundless space and back through illimitable time, resolving the deepest questions of life, mind, society, history and civilization, which predicts the glorious possibilities of the future, and reveals the august method by which the Divine Power works evermore,—this one all-elucidating conception is expressed by the term EVOLUTION."

In his later writings Mr. Spencer made the bold attempt to remove the chief difficulty which stood, which yet stands, in the way of Evolution, *by constructing in harmony therewith a theory of morals.* As we should formulate his new theory it presupposes two primitive forces—the instincts of self-perpetuation and self-preservation,—all anterior to this being in the realm of the Unknown. These forces, through a long series of manifestations, coming in cumulative sequence and order, mutually and perpetually corrective and clarifying, must in the final outcome determine the particular rules whereby the happiness of mankind and the happiness of the individual will be found not only in strict agreement but in perfect operation. These rules will constitute the *absolute* right; but in the long period intervening there must be rules of *relative* right, provisional in their nature and their authority. The whole theory is empirical; it affects to be based on experience; and through and through it is materialistic. There is no moral sense in it; and what it would call a moral sense is placed at the wrong end—in the outcome of experience and not at its source!

As the title warrants us in expecting, Mr. Spencer's theory of ethics is systematically elaborated in "The Data of Ethics," his preface to which is dated June, 1879,—at which period he was not only formally but consistently committed to evolution as the one law and method to which all beliefs must be made to conform. Throughout this book he elaborates and applies the distinction between "Absolute Ethics" and "Relative Ethics;" but under both terms he includes simply conduct,—

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the Absolute meaning the ultimate and ideal; the Relative, the immediately practicable and provisional. The last two chapters, on "Absolute Ethics and Relative Ethics" and "The Scope of Ethics," give summaries of his varied and scattered statements made in the bulk of the work. In the former we have this: "As implied in foregoing chapters, right and wrong as conceived by us can exist only in relation to the actions of creatures capable of pleasures and pains; seeing that analysis carries us back to pleasures and pains *as the elements out of which the* CONCEPTIONS ARE FRAMED." In the latter the author begins with an allusion to what precedes in the particular that his book has shown that Ethics deals with conduct at large as well as with a particular kind of conduct, and he then adds: "After taking a general view of conduct, not human only but sub-human, and not only as existing but as evolving, we saw that Ethics has for its subject matter the most highly-evolved conduct as displayed by the most highly-evolved being, Man—in a specification of those traits which his conduct assumes on reaching its limit of evolution."

These passages are samples of many scattered through the work and stated in special relations. All through, the author rightly assumes that Ethics deals with Conduct; but we miss his meaning if he does not imply that nothing ethical *ante-dates* conduct. Yet this ante-dating element is the very particular which is implied by the moral sense—not simply the *code* but the *sense*. So we are compelled to read, and by implication to formulate, the teachings of this author in all his direct attempts to adjust Ethics to Evolution.

Fortunately, however, we are saved the necessity of relying on a formulation of our own, and are spared the risk of running into error through a possible misapprehension of the author's meaning. Mr. Spencer has in fact if not with special intention, formulated his theory himself, and this in his letter to J. S. Mill. With a view to criticism, Dr. Hedge, in the *North American Review* article already referred to, quotes the passage which follows, the italicizing being our own:[7]

[7] Passages from this Letter are reprinted in Alexander Bain's Moral Science., etc., pp. 307, 308.

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"Moral institutions are the results of accumulated experiences of utility. Gradually organized and inherited, they have come to be quite independent of conscious experience. Just in the same way that I believe the intuition of space possessed by any living individual to have arisen from organized and consolidated experiences of all antecedent individuals who bequeathed to him their slowly developed nervous organization; just as I believe that this intuition, requiring only to be made definite and complete by personal experiences, has practically become a form of thought, apparently quite independent of experience, so do I believe that *the experiences of utility*, organized and consolidated through all past generations of the human race, have been producing corresponding *nervous organizations*, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, HAVE BECOME in us certain faculties of moral intuition—certain emotions corresponding to right and wrong conduct, which have no apparent basis in individual experiences of utility."

As Mr. Spencer has, by his novel theorizing, greatly disturbed the more conservative theologians, particularly that bigoted class who dispose of the claims of Evolution by habitual appeals to prejudice,—such, for example, as the tracing of one's ancestry to apes and monkeys,—it would avail, and ought to avail, nothing to cite their comments upon the theory here "formulated." But to this class Dr. Hedge does not belong. Even if he misapprehends Mr. Spencer he does so unintentionally; is this master-metaphysician likely to misapprehend on such a subject? We quote his comments, italicizing a few of the salient terms:

"The view presented in this statement I regard as a curious example of the extravagances into which a strong mind may be driven by pursuing to its ultimate one line of thought, by the despotism of a system. The analogue chosen by way of illustration—the hereditary origin of our sense of space—suggests the question, how primitive man came by his space-perceptions which, one would say, must have been rather essential to him in the operations by which he won his subsistence and got himself lived, after a fashion, in those dim years; and further (since heredity is cumulative), whether your and my sense of space is any more perfect than that of Pythagoras when he discoursed of the ἄπειρον 2,500 years ago. As to the physiology of this hypothesis, it seems to me that *if our moral perceptions are*

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nervous modifications derived from inheritance, the sons and grandsons of upright ancestors should be preëminently gifted in that kind. But we have proof that the moral sense in such subjects is no finer than in persons of less honorable descent, in spite of the '*noblesse oblige*' of the French aristocrat. Conduct, I know, may be determined by other influences than that of moral intuition, but surely it might be expected to bear some appreciable relation to such intuition."

Conceding that Mr. Spencer's theory, in so far as it accounts for the massing of "moral capital," vested in "the historic records, in biography, in literature, in churches and other institutions for the education and edification of human kind," contains "a very important truth," Dr. Hedge resumes his criticism of the theory considered as ethical:

"But Spencer's doctrine teaches that man has originally no moral perceptions, *no sense* of right,—in effect, *no moral nature;* not differing in this from the brute. If this be allowed, it follows, I think, that man has no moral nature now. For civilized man differs from primitive man, not in the ground-elements of his constitution, but in training, development, habit. He acquires by heredity the habit of acting, the disposition and impulse to act, in conformity with social well-being. But where does he get the feeling that he ought so to act, that such action is right, that he is bound to it, however averse to his own inclination, however it may seem to conflict with his own advantage? Whence does he derive the idea of duty? The mere perception that a given line of action is conducive to social well-being will not compel a man so to act if he sees no benefit, but, on the contrary, injury accruing to himself from such action."

We quote no author's judgment as infallible, yet we apprehend that few will entertain the suspicion that England's greatest thinker, particularly in the department of ethics, has missd the meaning of Mr. Spencer's words in the particular under consideration. Dr. Martineau, in comment upon the passage reproduced by Dr. Hedge, says:

"The sum and substance of this comprehensive and ingenious theory is this: that pleasure and pain are what we denote, and all that we denote, by good and evil, and supply to each

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agent the sole end of conduct: that pleasant conduct is an increment, painful a decrement, of life: that whatever is a means of personal pleasure or a part of it, including therefore the pleasure of others, becomes endeared to us on that account: that modes of action and feeling which are found to possess this instrumental utility draw to themselves interest and favor, in which all who are served by them will participate: that his favor (with disfavor to the opposites) powerfully affects the happiness of every one who is the object of it, and becomes intense as a motive: that his sensitiveness to it stereotypes itself in his cerebral organization, reappears in his children, and taking up their added experience, passes down with increase in each last generation; till, through fusion of countless elements, almost all prior to the individual's life, its origin is lost from view, and we mistake its innateness in the individual for its immutability in the race, and its emotional depth for superhuman authority."[8]

Mr. Daniel Greenleaf Thompson, in the article referred to, gives his own estimate,—that of a zealous disciple,—of Mr. Spencer's ethical theory,—not the one he avows in his reply to Mr. Hutton, but the one which inheres in his evolution system, —and his estimate fully accords with the interpretation put upon it by Drs. Hedge and Martineau. We quote, the italics being our own:

"Mr. Spencer's practical philosophy has been pretty fully set forth in his 'Data of Ethics,' and in his various essays. In ethics he holds that conduct should be estimated and governed *by the rule of the highest utility*, but believes that an ideal social state, involving an ideal development of character should always be kept before the mind as a standard to furnish that counsel of perfection, which his opponent, Green, urges as necessary, though from an entirely different point of view. This ideal morality is likely to be realized in the course of evolution, but until there is reached such a state of society as to make it practicable, we must also recognize a code of relative ethics by which to conform our actions to our circumstances, and aid, so far as those circumstances will allow, the progress of mankind to the most perfect conditions."[9]

Those of our readers who may agree with us in our estimate of Mr. Spencer's attempt to adjust ethics to the law of evolu-

[8] Types of Ethical Theory, vol. ii.. pp. 348, 349.

[9] Evolution, Popular Lectures, etc., pp. 13, 14.

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tion, will probably further agree with us, when we make the general statement, that this great thinker attempts more than has yet been put within the capabilities of any one person. The human intellect at its greatest has its limits. If evolution is at last so completely verified as to silence even doubt as well as question, the work of adjusting therewith the varied departments of thought and research, must in each case devolve upon specialists. It will be found that here as elsewhere mankind is greater than any man. Biology, Psychology, Sociology, Politics, Esthetics, Ethics, involve so many particulars, so many differentiations, so many applications, that any one gives ample scope for the most highly endowed. Mr. Spencer's amazing industry and courage in grappling with each and all, may move our admiration, but we cannot resist the conclusion that his purpose is too vast for successful achievement by any one intellect. The readers of Emerson's "Plato," in his "Representative Men," will recall his conclusion after having exalted the Greek as almost super-human: "He has clapped copyright on the world. This is the ambition of individualism. But the mouthful proves too large. *Boa constrictor* has good will to eat it, but he is foiled. He falls abroad in the attempt; and biting, gets strangled; the bitten world holds the biter fast by his own teeth. There he perishes; unconquered nature lives on, and forgets him. So it fares with all; so must it fare with Plato. In view of eternal nature, Plato turns out to be philosophical exercitations. He argues on this side, and on that. The acutest German, the lovingest disciple, could never tell what Platonism was: indeed, admirable texts can be quoted on both sides of every great question from him."

5. The Intuition theory has had all needful definition in our many incidental allusions to it in comments upon other theories. It needs no defence. It can have none. It rests on the soul's direct affirmation. As the basis of all ethical argumentation, it in itself cannot rest upon argument; so much is involved in the statement. The "rules of utility" are not moral because they are useful; they are useful because they are moral. They have their ethical qualities not in the *outcome*

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of happiness, but in a *primitive instinct*,—in the constitution of human nature,—in the Ought that goes with the Expedient but which is not it. Evolution so far as it rests on physical data seems to have conquered the mass of scientific scholars. It may yet account for, without logically destroying, he moral sense. To Mr. Spencer belongs the credit of perceiving that the attempt to do this is imperative. But his manly and bold attempt proves to be suicidal. *G. H. Emerson.*

General Review.

The Universalism of Robert Browning.

In the death of Robert Browning a poet of unique genius has closed a long and industrious earthly career. While he was a mortal critics differed in regard to the place and rank to which he could be assigned in the world of letters, and it is yet too soon since his departure for any common consent thereto. Of much of his work Mr. Howells says, "It is the province of his organized admirers to make explorations in, and to report progress upon from time to time;" and of other lines from his pen, "we shall have to read again before we understand them, and with no great confidence in another reading either." These criticisms were penned before the poet's decease. Since that event the same writer has said; "The prevalent opinion even now is that Browning, notwithstanding the rare intellectual power which enriches much of his inferior work, will suffer very seriously from his defective art. Nevertheless, he must rank as the most powerful realist in the representation of human life who has appeared in England since Shakspeare. He also possessed a lyrical gift which, in its best expression, entitles him to a place only below the first. He had, too, a peculiar felicity in rendering mysticism, in giving form to vague feeling, and in expressing the moods of indefinite suggestion that music awakens. He had an estate in the borderland of thought and feeling, on the confines of our knowledge, in the places that look to the promised land." [1]

[1] Atlantic Monthly, December, 1876; May, 1887; February, 1890.

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Another critic says of Browning: "Of all English poets he is the most difficult to classify, and his originality as a thinker is no less striking. It is true of him, as of most great thinkers, that his real contribution to our common fund of thought lies not so much in the disclosure of entirely new truths as in fresh and fruitful application of truths already known, in a survey of life complete, adequate, and al together novel in the clearness and harmony with which a few fundamental conceptions are shown to be sovereign throughout the whole sphere of being. It is not too much to say of Browning that of all English poets he has rationalized life most thoroughly. In the range of his interests and the scope of his thought he is a man of Shaksperean mould." "If Browning's genius has remained long unrecognized and unhonored among his contemporaries, the frequent harshness and obscurity of his expression must not bear the whole responsibility. His thought holds so much that is novel, so much that is as yet unadjusted to knowledge, art, and actual living, that its complete apprehension even by the most open-minded must be slow and long delayed. No English poet ever demanded more of his readers, and none has ever had more to give them. Since Shakspeare no maker of English verse has seen life on so many sides, entered into it with such intensity of sympathy and imagination, and pierced it to so many centres of its energy and maturity. No other has so completely mastered the larger movement of modern thought on the constructive side, or so deeply felt and so adequately interpreted the modern spirit."[2] And still another critic has said: "Browning is a poet who seems to defy classification, so much does he differ from all his contemporaries. In his employment of the dramatic method, and in his love for psychologic analysis, he is able to touch hands with some of the poets working about him; but on the whole he presents a unique figure in the literature of the present time. He has no sympathy with the love of melody which has been so prominent in English poetry during the last half century." "Browning is, and will always remain, the poet of the few. He has expressed in his poetry little of those qualities which win popularity. His thought does not take form along the common levels of opinion. The emotional life is not interpreted by him in a manner to bring him into sympathy with the great majority of mankind, even in cultivated circles. He makes too great a demand on thought, and he is too unconventional to be received with favor by the mass of readers."[3]

[2] Hamilton Wright Mabie, in the *Andover Review* for August, 1887.

[3] Poets and Problems, by George Willis Cooke, pp. 316, 385.

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Browning's career is another verification of the old proverb: "A poet is born, not made." He began to write verses when a child, and by the age of twelve years had enough written to make a volume. They were composed, we are told, under the influence of Byron's verse; and Miss Flower, afterwards Mrs. Sarah Flower Adams, a friend of the Browning family, desired their publication, and to this end submitted them to the critical inspection of William Johnson Fox, at that time a noted Unitarian divine. He praised them heartily, but did not favor their appearing in print, and expressed his fear "that the young poet's love of melody and form would be a serious hindrance to genuine accomplishment." [4] Within a year these apprehensions had no foundation. The writings of Shelley and Keats came into the lad's hands and captivated his heart, working a great change in his thought and tastes. His former work became distasteful, and many and vast poetic projects began to exercise his genius, resulting at last in developing that peculiar style, so defiant of the ordinary rules of art, which stamps his writings with their unique character and often makes them so hard to understand.

But if this must be said of his verse in general, there is one particular in which it is not obscure, though often marked by a striking originality. So strong was his faith in a Personal God, All-wise and All-loving; so deep his conviction that Christ is a perfect expression of God's love to man; so firm his assurance that all souls can be redeemed from sin; and so well assured was he that death is but an incident in the career of our humanity, and that all men are immortal. that he was wholly free from the uncertainties begotten by Agnosticism, and from the gloom of pessimistic forebodings. That all souls belong to God and shall yet be restored to Him, was his firm persuasion. His critics also declare it to have been the inspiration and incitement of his labors. Says Mr. Howells, "Browning owes no small part of his real influence and nearness to many lives to this fervent belief in the voice and the light within, the intuition of the soul, the piety of simple reverence and trust, the faith in the 'one event' of all. Outside of the church this preaching has been a compensation for professed religion, and within it a strengthening and vivifying energy, helping the soul to a real and self-conscious religious life. In fact, Browning himself, living in the midst of the modern age, seems to have clung to his belief with the greater persistency, and to have expressed it the more loudly. He often states it as the one thing

[4] Ibid. p. 280.

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which is of most importance. It lies at the very base of his system; for without it the mystery of the soul's salvation, the issue of its struggle with evil and its frequent defeat, the whole validity of its high impulse and inspired vision, would be left in chaotic and dismaying confusion, the more fearful because of its gleams, seemingly leading to another world, which flash over the field. This religious faith gives law to the struggle of life in his poems, lends them their ethical power, and secures for them that ground of repose necessary to every work of art." [5]

Mr. Cooke thus presents an analysis of the poet's great thought and assurance: "Browning continually exults in the power and faculty which are man's, and in the eternal promise which lies enfolded in his nature. He does not accept the limitations of man's being merely with a philosophical calm and a religious trust, for his attitude is that of confident expectation. In them is to be found the more glorious promise for his destiny. He rejoices with all men who struggle and attain; for them life has the deepest joy. In the struggle is the victory; and how glorious it is to fight the way on, to meet obstacles and overcome them! Even more divine is it to be overcome in the conflict. The highest victory comes only through defeat. Peace is won from out the cannon's mouth, and life from the jaws of death. The Christ lost all, that he might gain all. . . . . Man lives on earth because the earth-life is necessary to his development. There will come after it a more perfect result in proportion as we have warred with the hard conditions and overcome them. It is not smooth things man needs; but those which through trial will fit him for the higher destiny. Man advances through obstacles overcome:

—'for mankind springs
Salvation by each hindrance interposed.'

We are to meet the hindrances face to face, as the soldier meets the enemy. So meeting them we are sure of victory.

'If I stoop
Into a dark and tremendous sea of cloud,
It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
Close to my heart; its splendor soon or late
Will pierce the gloom.'

This high conviction and assurance concerning the evil in human life grow out of his feeling that there is an immortal life of ever-ascending attainment awaiting man in the future. That thought pervades all Browning's poetry; and we can read but few pages of his

[5] Atlantic Monthly, February, 1890, pp. 245, 246.

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without finding it repeated in some form. Over all is God; and here is man struggling through the help of his imperfection to attain harmony with him, and sure to reach it. It is that grand hope and that profound faith which cause him to take a tone joyous and triumphant ever. . . . . In this spirit he accepts the great problem of life as having true and sure solutions in the heart that aspires. The heart has found God, and that is enough. The heart has also found the door of the future open; and now we stand in the outer court a little time to make ready our thoughts to enter in.

> 'Only grant a second life, I acquiesce
> In this present life as failure, count misfortune's worst assault
> Triumph, not defeat, assured that loss so much the more exalts
> Gain about to be.' "[6]

Rev. Frederick M. Bird, in an article in the *Independent* of Feb. 6, this year, on "Browning's Theology," has the following touching the poet's faith in the hopeful result of God's purpose and government: "Sin and death, in their theological aspects, are not his favorite themes; but he does not shirk them. In that incomparable drama, 'A Blot in the 'Scutcheon,' he shows how haste and heat and passion in ingenuous and noble natures may wreck the life and soil the spirit. The dying Mertoun says with terrible simplicity to his slayer:

> 'Never you sin, Lord Trestram!—for you'll die,
> And God will judge you.'

And Trestram answers:

> 'Yes, be satisfied—
> That process is begun.'

But this is not the end. Remorse and shame are for time not for eternity:

> 'For God
> We're good enough, tho' the world cast us out.'

In his loftier moods the Hereafter was always in sight—and it was life, not death eternal. His persistent optimism forced him to believe in a re-adjustment beyond the grave, whereby all souls shall be won to God. This is a point assured and certified. Tennyson's thousand-times quoted lines,

> 'Ah, yet we trust that somehow good
> Shall be the final goal of ill—'

are not stronger, clearer, or more eloquent, than at least two passages of Browning. In 'Apparent Failure,' after a visit to the Parisian Morgue, he muses thus:

[6] Poets and Problems, pp. 377-379.

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'It's wiser being good than bad;
It's safer being meek than fierce;
It's fitter being sane than mad.
My own hope is, a sun will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched:
That, after Last, returns the First,
Tho' a wide compass round be fetched;
That which began best, can't end worst,
Nor what God blessed once, prove accurst.'

And in 'Abt Vogler,' from the musician's viewpoint:

'There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before;
The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound;
What was good, shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more;
On the earth the broken arcs, in the heaven, a perfect round.

'All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good, shall exist;
Not its likeness, but itself: no beauty, nor good, nor power,
Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist
When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.

'The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;
Enough that he heard it once: we shall hear it by and by.' "

Elsewhere Browning is as emphatic in the utterance of his convic tion that unless all souls are brought into harmony with God the Maker's work in creating man has been futile. In "The Ring and the Book," he makes the Pope say of Guido: "Not one permissible impulse moves the man;" but he also says:

"So may the truth be flashed out by one blow,
And Guido see one instant and be saved,
Else I avert my face, nor follow him
Into that sad, obscure, sequestered state
Where God unmakes but to remake the soul
He else first made in vain."

In "Easter Day" the poet gives us his vision of the judgment meted out to a soul that has made choice of the things of sense rather than of the life which knows and loves God. The punishment is shown to be the necessary consequence of the choice. But it is reme dial, and hope, which with the poet, is more than mere desire, remains and moves the sufferer to effort and to prayer:

"leave me not tied
To this despair, this corpse-like bride.
. . . . . .
Only let me go on, go on,
Still hoping ever and anon
To reach one eve the Better Land."

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The freedom of the will, the power for effort, are neither of them, in Browning's estimation, limited to our life on the earth. We are here indeed to make a choice, and how we now choose decides much, but it does not decide everything, much less does it here decide for eternity. He makes free use of the word "probation," but not in its commonly received sense, as limited and final trial, but as discipline and education. He is sure that man is immortal, sure that death works no change in his powers, and so sure that in the end he will come into harmony with God's unchanging purpose. So in "Rabbi Ben Ezra," he thus expresses his faith and hope:

> "I own the past profuse
> Of power each side, perfection every turn:
> Eyes, ears took in their dole,
> Brain treasured up the whole;
> Should not the heart beat once 'How good to live and learn?'
>
> Not once beat 'Praise be Thine!
> I see the whole design,
> I, who saw Power, see now Love perfect too:
> Perfect I call thy plan;
> Thanks that I was a man!
> Maker, remake, complete,—I trust what Thou shalt do!'"

This trust has its foundation in his assurance of God's Infinite Love; a love which, if denied to God, makes Him less than the lowest object He has made:

> "For the loving worm within its clod
> Were diviner than a loveless God
> Amid his worlds, I will dare to say."

And the fact that He has made us gifted with love prompting us to what is best within our reach, and for a longing to do what we are powerless to effect, must of necessity indicate to us the quality of that which He possesses in infinite measure. And so in the poem "Saul," he makes David long, unavailingly, to comfort Saul, and yet to accept his longing as an assurance that God, who can help, will certainly do so:

> "Would I fain in my impotent yearning do all for this man,
> And dare doubt he alone shall not help him, who yet alone can?"

The possibilities of that Infinite Love, Browning never tired of singing. Its results were sure. Its triumphs would be completed "Yonder." In "Reverie," probably among the last, if not the final poem from his pen,—with extracts from which we close the present notice,—Love's victory is assured:

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"Even as the world its life,
So have I lived my own—
Power seen with love at strife,
That sure, this dimly shown,—
Good rare, and evil rife.

"Whereof the effect be—faith
That, some fair day, were found
Ripeness in things now rathe,
Wrong righted, each chain unbound,
Renewal born out of scathe.

. . . . . .

"I have faith such end shall be:
From the first, Power was—I knew.
Life has made clear to me
That, strive but for closer view,
Love were as plain to see.

"When see? When there dawns a day,
If not on the homely earth,
Then yonder, world's array,
Where the strange and new have birth
And Power comes full in play."

Contemporary Literature.

Essays on Government. By A. Laurence Lowell. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston and New York. 16 mo., pp. 229. $1.25.

In the development of these essays Mr. Lowell lays down as a guide the maxim that a political system is an organism, and to be properly studied should, by the light of this idea, be examined at work with candor and clear vision, unobstructed by preconceived notions of the theoretical constitution or actual operation of governmental machinery. In his introduction, however, the author deems himself at liberty to deliver certain dicta concerning the necessity of large rewards for great exertions, the consequent deadening effects of Socialism, and the alarming modern tendency toward paternal government. The first Essay is devoted to the Elucidation of the proposition that cabinet responsibility in the English sense could not be introduced into our government without proving fatal to the whole system, jeopardizing personal liberty by a powerful tendency toward centralization and paternalism. It is pointed out that there is no necessary connection between democracy and individual liberty, since the tyranny of the majority may become as oppressive as that of a monarch. Especial pains are taken to controvert the doctrine of Mr. Woodrow

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Wilson, who, in his "Congressional Government," has endeavored to show that in actual practice our government has departed far from the "literary theory" of the constitution, the House of Representatives having become practically supreme. It would interest the reader to make a careful study of Mr. Lowell's first two essays in connection with "Congressional Government," and Chapter VI, of Fiske's "Critical Period of American History." One of the fundamental differences between our government and that of England is that power of the Supreme Court of the United States to declare a law unconstitutional and therefore void, by its decision of cases brought before it for trial, whereby the private citizen may maintain his rights against encroachments of the state. It appears from a passage in the Essays, p. 170, that "It was, indeed, long doubtful in England whether the courts had not the authority to disregard an act of Parliament, if they considered it against natural equity or common right and reason;" though this claim was abandoned by the judges early in the last century.

The last two Essays, on "The Theory of the Social Compact," and "The Limits of Sovereignty," are somewhat abstract, and although like their predecessors well and clearly written, are likely to be less attractive to readers in general. They however possess real interest, as the following summary of the mutations in the fortunes of the idea of a social compact may testify; "We have seen the theory started by a zealous churchman (Hooker) to uphold his church. We have seen it wielded by Hobbes in favor of absolute monarchy in England. We have then seen it taken up by Locke as a shield to individual right, and in defense of a limitation of the power of government; and later still by Rousseau, as an argument for an unbridled democracy. We have seen its working here on the Constitution of Massachusetts, and after lighting the world for two centuries, we have seen it give a last despairing flicker in the courts of the United States, and fade away in the dim light of German metaphysics."

Three Dramas of Euripides. By William Cranston Lawton. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. Crown, 8vo. pp. vii., 261. $1.50.

This work is an enlargement of a series of essays which have already appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The opening chapter, "On the Origin and Spirit of Attic Tragedy," prepares the reader, who is unfamiliar with the traditional requirements of the Dionysiac theatre, for a better understanding and consequently a greater enjoyment of the three plays which follow. Mr. Lawton makes no special plea for this youngest of the three great tragic poets, but considers that too little attention has been bestowed upon him whom Mrs. Browning has so fitly named the "human," and that he is at least well worth knowing.

First, we have that "strangest, saddest, sweetest song," Alkestis, in which perhaps the English reader has most interest through its resemblance to the last scene of "The Winter's Tale." The translator

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states in his preface that the Medea represents most nearly his present ideas as to the proper relation of a version to the Greek text, and elsewhere he says that the law of dramatic unity is more nearly observed in this play than in any other Euripidean drama. "It has the strong central character upon which may be concentrated the chief interest of the plot." The third play in the volume, the Hippolytos, brings into sharp contrast the nobility of the human characters and the baseness of the gods, and it contained, to the Greeks, a warning against contempt or neglect of any divinity, especially of Aphrodite. Each play is preceded by an introduction by the translator and a description of the plot, and throughout the text of the plays themselves there are numerous explanations, so clearly and gracefully introduced that the reader feels no unpleasant sense of interruption, but only gratitude for timely assistance. These translations must be considered a valuable contribution to literature, and in their clear interpretation and grace of expression they will prove a boon to those who are unable the read the plays in the original. We owe a debt to Mr. Lawton for all that he has done with voice and pen to give a true impression of the Greek drama, and we sincerely hope that this volume will meet with such a reception as will induce the author to give the public translations from Euripides' later plays, and also those from each of the other tragic poets,—a work which he has under consideration if he should receive sufficient encouragement.

Hiero-Salem: A Vision of Peace. A Fiction founded on Ideals which are grounded in the Real, that is Greater than the Greatest of all Human Great Ideals. By E. L. Mason. Illustrated. Boston. J. C. Cupples Company. Square 12mo. pp. 508. $2.00.

This book is a curiosity, a queer mixture from beginning to end. It is a fiction in every sense, both in its foundation and in its narrative, based on the improbable in theory and proceeding on the impossible in its implied results. In brief, this analyzes its outline: A Yankee, who seems to be a first-class crank, a Quaker, Transcendentalist, Clairvoyant and possessed of second sight, whose name is Heem, marries a shrewd Jewess by the name of Eloi, both being convinced that the Nuptial Diagram, to represent which the Forty-seventh proposition of Elucid, is chosen, can be worked out successfully by the creation of the Eloi-Heem. Just before their first-born comes into the world, the father is greatly exercised for fear that some base spirit, hundreds of which he sees floating about in the air, "waiting to be homed in a human body," shall be incarcerated in his expected heir. His fears are realized, as the boy is the re-incarnated spirit of a bad Jew, his own grandfather. A few years after this a daughter, whose body is chosen as the new mortal abode of a "Peri-spirit," whatever that may be, is born. The daughter and father spend most of their time together; the mother becomes skeptical of the Theosophy and esoteric Buddhism on which the others spend their time in theorizing, and devotes herself to successful speculations in land. The children, while quite young, talk in metaphysical strains quite impossible for ordinary children, and seem to be fully convinced that transmigration,

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or as they call it, reincarnation, has become demonstrated. In the course of the story some queer and quite doubtful characters get mixed up in the family affairs, and the boy, who, by contact with the world, had gone astray from fatherly and sisterly influences, is by these strange associates brought to the point where his sister saves him by overcoming "the crudities of the Eloi-religion, with its hatred of Supremacy of the woman-element of Deity," through "the Heem religion with its faith in the divinity and inherent goodness of Woman-power." This brings him to determine that from henceforth he will devote himself to the "final Self-Unification of his Duality." How he is to do this wonderful thing is not very clear, but the inference is that it will be by marriage; and he predicts that in the future marriage will have for its results that "two times One Whole One is forever two Whole Ones;" perceiving which, to him until then apparently strange statement, he declares, "Oh, my sister, I am ready to become an Eloi-heem." If anybody sees any sense in the rhapsodic style of this story he will probably enjoy it, and accept what he may discover to be its philosophy. Ordinary readers, however, will find it, we suspect, simply absurd.

Studies in Pedagogy. By Thomas J. Morgan, A. M., D. D., Principal of the Rhode Island State Normal School, author of Educational Mosaics. Boston. Silver, Burdett & Co. 12mo., pp. 355. $1.50.

Gen. Morgan's book is characterized by good sense, fine spirit, and almost as a matter of course, by sound pedagogic doctrine. Joseph Payne's declaration that "nothing strictly new can be said about education," though admitted by the author, need not deter him from imparting the flavor of his own personality to well accepted propositions and principles concerning the science and art of teaching. All judicious efforts to elevate the teacher's ideal and hasten the day of less meagre results in our schools, are heartily welcome, and the chapters of this book are calculated to work to such ends; and that in spite of an occasional slip such as classing *ennui* (p. 82) among the appetites which man shares with the brutes. If, as many believe, there is a fundamental error pervading instruction in our schools, and memory is appealed to at the expense of reason, the public and school officials as well as teachers must be roused to its existence, and work together for its correction. They should remember with Gen. Morgan that "To know broadly and accurately, to feel quickly and keenly, and to act with promptness and effectively are among the prerogatives of the well-cultured man;" that is, that symmetrical development should be the whole aim of education.

Portraits of Friends. By John Campbell Shairp, author of "Culture and Religion." With a Sketch of Principal Shairp, by William Young Sellers, and an etched portrait. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp. 212. $1.25.

Principal Shairp was well known in this country, as also in Europe, as the author of the works: "Culture and Religion," "Stories in Poetry and Philosophy," and other thoughtful and suggestive books.

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He had the reputation of being one of the finest critics produced in this generation. He was Principal of St Andrews, Scotland, and lecturer on Poetry at Oxford. "The Portraits of Friends" are discriminatingly and thoroughly drawn, giving the reader an insight into the character and gifts of their respective subjects, who are Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, a distinguished Scotch Universalist, widely known and revered in Great Britain, by his writings; Dr. John Brown, of Edinburg, the author of the everywhere admired "Rab and His Friends;" Norman MacLeod, the eminent preacher; Arthur Hugh Clough, and a few others not so widely known. Mr. Sellars' short and comprehensive sketch of Principal Shairp is a loving tribute of a friend, and abounds in most pleasant reminiscences. The volume is put forth by the publishers in uniform style with other writings of the lamented author, whose earthly career closed in 1885.

Select Notes. A Commentary on the International Lessons for 1890. Explanatory, Illustrative, Doctrinal, and Practical; with illustrations, maps, pictures, chronology and harmony of the Life of Christ, suggestions to teachers, library references, By. Rev. F. N. Peloubet, D. D., and M. A. Peloubet. Studies in the Gospel according to Luke. Boston. W. A. Wilde & Co. 8vo. pp. 349. $1.25.

The title page is a general statement of the contents of this valuable commentary of the International Sunday School Lessons for 1890. An exhaustive statement of the merits of this help to teachers it would be difficult to make. That it is the most complete book of the kind is the uniform judgment of those who are familiar with the helps for study which are now so numerous. It is the pioneer in this work, the volume before us being the 16th that has been brought out by Dr. Peloubet and his associate; and each year has been an improvement on its predecessor, showing that the authors are alert in discovering and supplying the needs of those for whom they write. Of course, since the theological standpoint of the author is in many respects different from ours, we do not always agree with his doctrinal exposition of the text; but in very many points, especially in the general and also in many of the special applications of the lessons, we find ourselves not only in hearty accord, but also greatly charmed with the author's invention and fulness. The illustrations from life incidents are, most of them, admirable and helpful. The "Library References" are copious, showing large and appreciative readings of authorities, and commending valuable helps to the teacher. With our own *Helper* for doctrinal guidance, and Peloubet's Notes for general information, incitement to enthusiasm and the source of profitable lessons in Christian life and spirit for the pupil, the Sunday School teacher will be well equipped for the discharge of duty to the class.

The Picturesque Geographical Readers. By Charles F. King, Master Dearborn Grammar School, Boston, etc. Volume I. At Home and at School. Supplementary and Regular Reading in the lower classes of Grammar Schools, Public Libraries and the Home. Boston. Lee & Shepard. 1890. 12mo. pp. xi. 226.

This is the first of four volumes intended to supply a rapidly increasing demand for supplemental reading on the various subjects of

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school text-books. It is beautifully gotten up, and is fascinating in its treatment of its theme; and we can well imagine the delight which text, illustrations and style, will give to the children for whose use it is intended. It is written in narrative style, is profusely illustrated from photographs, photographic slides, French and English designs, or by the best American artists. And it can be used in place of, or in connection with, geographies. Parents whose children may complain of the dryness of the ordinary geography, will be sure to awaken their interest in the study by providing them with this delightful help.

The Tartufian Age. By Paul Mantegazza. Translated by W. A. Nettleton, assisted by Prof. L. D. Ventura. Boston. MDCCCXC. Lee & Shepard. 16mo., pp. 151. $1.25.

The author gets his title from Molière's comedy of "Tartûfé," a hypocritical priest, the original having been supposed by many to be Pere La Chaise, the confessor of Louis XIV. In so far as he shows that the modern Tartuffe does not confine himself to deceit in the realm of religious profession, but practices insincerity on all subjects. the author will find none to dispute him; but why he should single out our present age as peculiar in this respect, does not appear. Certainly he adduces no proof, institutes no comparisons between this and preceding ages of the world to justify his assumption. That many are insincere at the present time amounts to nothing in proof of such unless it can also be shown that in proportion to population a less number were insincere in former times. This would be difficult, if not impossible, and the attempt is not made. Because we have proof of duplicity and deceit in all departments of public and private life, we are no more justified in saying "in our haste, all men are liars," than was David, centuries ago. The author says many bright, witty and truthful things. Many that it will do us good to ponder. He points out evils of exaggeration and deceit which cry aloud for remedy, and which it is in our power, God helping us, to remove.

A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Edited by Philip Schaff, D. D, LL. D., Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. In connection with a number of Patristic Scholars of Europe and America. Volume xiii. Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. Vol. xiv. Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of Saint John and the Epistle to the Hebrews. New York. The Christian Literature Company. 1889, 1890. Royal 8vo. pp. xiii, 592; xvi, 555. $3.50 per vol.

Dr. Schaff's personal work on the 13th volume is in editing the Homilies on Timothy, Titus and Philemon. The remainder is edited in part by Rev. Dr. Broadus, President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; and in part by Rev. Dr. Alexander, Professor of New Testament Greek at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. A valuable portion of the volume is Dr. Broadus' prefatory note on Chrysostom as a Homilist, in which much useful information concerning the preacher of the "Golden Mouth," is given, enabling the reader to become familiar with the methods pursued by the great

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Christian orator, and to derive the most benefit from the study of his sermons. What most distinguishes the 14th volume is Dr. Gardiner's learned Introduction on the Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He argues for attributing it to Barnabas. As we have before had occasion to say, Chrysostom was eminently an expository preacher, and his homilies are the best specimens of the ancient treatment of New Testament themes. The preacher of to-day who would understand the methods and the style of the Fathers, must not overlook the writings of this patristic model of style and arrangement of sermons. The volumes before us will be especially useful to young preachers, showing them how profitably Scripture narrative may be made to apply, even in local incident, to the circumstances and needs of all times.

With this volume the first series of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers is completed. Immediately the publication of a second series will be begun, to extend through thirteen volumes, one to be issued every three months. It will take up the most important works of the Greek and Latin Fathers from A.D. 325 to A.D. 800, including Eusebius of Cæsarea, Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoret, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephraem Syrus, Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Cassian, St. Benedict, Sulpitius Severus, Vicentius of Levins, Leo I., John of Damascus, and the Decrees and Canons of the Seven Œcumenical Councils, A.D. 325–787. We regret to miss from the list as now made up, Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose "Exegetical and Dogmatic Fragments" were included in the prospectus as first announced. This great man, who founded the Nestorian Church, which at one time outranked all others in numbers and in missionary zeal, surely ought to have a place in such a collection. We renew our advice to our young preachers to seek to obtain these valuable treasures. The prospectus will be forwarded to any one who will address "The Christian Literature Company," 35 Bond street, New York.

An Explanatory and Pronouncing Dictionary of the Noted Names of Fiction. Including also familiar pseudonyms, surnames bestowed on eminent men, and analogous popular appellations often referred to in literature and conversation. By William A. Wheeler. Nineteenth edition, with Appendix by Charles G. Wheeler. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. pp. xxxii, 440. $2.00.

Since its first appearance, in 1865, this book has been an acknowledged authority, a standard without a rival. That there is a demand for a nineteenth edition is an assurance that it requires no words of special praise. The appendix now first added, bringing the work to include Noted Names of Fiction to the present, gives the edition before us fresh value and utility. Although prepared by another hand, the work seems to have been as carefully done as is the main part; and so far as we are competent to judge, it omits nothing that has achieved fame. John Ward, Preacher; Robert Elsmere, have suitable mention, as have other recent characters whose fame is more limited than theirs. The special attention given to the pronunciation of foreign

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names is a marked feature of this dictionary, and an invaluable one to all who have occasion to use it. So frequent both in literature and in conversation is the reference to leading characters in fiction that all classes of readers will find it to their advantage to have this admirable work readily at hand for reference. It is well printed and serviceably bound.

The Sermon Bible. Psalm LXXVII. to Song of Solomon. Isaiah to Malachi. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1889. 1890. 8vo., pp. 476, 511. $1.50 per vol.

These are the third and fourth volumes in the series to which we have twice before called attention. As suggestions they are valuable to the preacher, and the references to theological treatises, commentaries and published sermons, from which information and aid in understanding and explaining the meaning of the Scripture text can be obtained, are full and eminently useful. While the work aims to be undenominational and unsectarian, most of its material is drawn from so-called evangelical sources, and many things, therefore, appear which will not be accepted by readers of the QUARTERLY, as correct expositions of the truth of the sacred text. Nevertheless there is much that is true and useful, and even that from which we dissent it is well for us to see, in order that we may be well-informed how others are interpreting revealed truth. In the third volume, for example, we notice that in the treatment of the Song of Solomon, the traditional and to us wholly untenable method of interpreting it as symbolizing Christ and the love of the Church for Christ, prevails. Many absurdities are thereby perpetuated, but we are happy in the belief that the number who so regard it, indeed the number of those who would select it for popular discourse, is diminishing. As we observed in the January QUARTERLY, in noticing Dr. Griffis' Study of the Biblical Drama of the "Song of Songs," the Song is in praise of unalterable human love, the fidelity of a maiden subject to great temptations, to her betrothed. But in spite of special points that call forth adverse criticism, the volume is a useful help.

The fourth volume completes the examination of the Old Testament. Naturally the most space is given to the display of the homiletic significance and resources of Isaiah; but the minor prophets have due consideration. We notice outlines of sermons by Canon Farrar, Dr. Joseph Parker, J. Baldwin Brown, Philips Brooks, and Dr. Horace Bushnell, all eminently suggestive, and quite out of the ruts of the formal and traditional treatment so characteristic of preachers destitute of inventive genius, who so often follow the copy set by incompetent teachers. The preacher certainly owes it to himself to cultivate a taste for the best and most effective models.

Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, compiled from her letters and journals. By her son, Charles Edward Stowe. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 8vo. pp. xii. 530.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, through the influence of her pen, has been one of the most potent forces in American life. Those who are under

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forty years of age can hardly realize what were the atrocities of slavery in the South, and its barbarous power as a political factor at the North, at the time Mrs. Stowe gave her famous "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to the world. Many pulpits defended slavery as a Divine institution, many more apologized for it and deprecated agitation of the subject; while the two great political parties, nearly equal to each other in numerical strength, bent all their energies to meeting and satisfying its insolent and constantly increasing demands. Whatever else may have had part in rousing the people to resistance of the encroachments of this evil,—and there were many influences working to that end,—it is undeniable that Mrs. Stowe's pen was one of the mightiest agencies.

Of the many interesting pages in the book before us, none are more instructive and captivating than those which tell how she wrote her wonderful story and with what eagerness it was read both in this country and abroad. A dear child had been taken away by death, and her thoughts centred not wholly in her own bereavement, but went out to other sufferers, and especially to the poor slave mothers whose babes were taken from them by cruel masters. Attending communion service in the college church at Brunswick, Me., the first impulse to writing her great story was given to her. The biography thus describes it:

"Suddenly, like the unrolling of a picture, the scene of the death of Uncle Tom passed before her mind. So strongly was she affected that it was with diffiulty she could keep from weeping aloud. Immediately on returning home she took pen and paper and wrote out the vision which had been, as it were, blown into her mind as by the rushing of a mighty wind. Gathering her family about her she read what she had written. Her two little ones of ten and twelve years of age broke into convulsions of weeping, one of them saying through his sobs: 'Oh, Mamma, slavery is the most cruel thing in the world!' . . . . Twenty-five years afterward Mrs. Stowe wrote in a letter to one of her children of this period of her life: 'I well remember the winter you were a baby and I was writing "Uncle Tom's Cabin." My heart was bursting with the anguish excited by the cruelty and injustice our nation was showing to the slave, and praying God to let me do a little and to cause my cry for them to be heard. I remember many a night weeping over you as you lay sleeping beside me, and I thought of the slave-mothers whose babes were torn from them.'" pp. 148, 149.

Never had prayer a more signal answer. The poet Whittier read the book and wrote exultingly to William Lloyd Garrison: "What a glorious work Harriet Beecher Stowe has wrought. Thanks for the Fugitive Slave Law! Better would it be for slavery if that law had never been enacted; for it gave occasion for 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'"

This, as we have said, was her great work, and it alone would have given her literary fame; but the versatility of her genius and the great activity of her intellect caused her to continue the use of her pen, and as a result some twenty volumes were created by her. The work before us contains their titles and shows us with more or less minuteness how and why they were written. Not the least interesting portions of the narrative of her life, are the descriptions of her childhood, her work in early life as a teacher, her marriage and domestic sur-

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roundings, her reception abroad after her great story had made her famous, her many eminent friends, conspicuous among whom was Lady Byron, and her extensive correspondence with the literati of many lands. At one time both her husband and herself gave no little attention to the subject of Modern Spiritualism, but her final judgment on the phenomena was that nothing could be more appalling than the prospect of the truth of such a state of things as was manifest in the communications purporting to come "from Bacon, Swedenborg, and others." For, she adds: "If the future life is so weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable as we might infer from these readings, one would have reason to deplore an immortality from which no suicide could give an outlet. To be condemned to such eternal prosing would be worse than annihilation." p. 486.

Brought up to the belief of the strictest Calvinism, Mrs. Stowe has travelled far from its horrible decrees and its utterly comfortless results. In 1857 one of her sons was accidentally drowned, and her old belief was insufficient to comfort her. Writing to her sister concerning her agony after the tidings of his death reached her, she said:

"Distressing doubts as to Henry's spiritual state were rudely thrust upon my soul. It was if a voice had said to me, 'You trusted in God, did you? You believed that He loved you! You had perfect confidence that he would never take your child till the work of grace was mature! Now he has hurried him into eternity without a moment's warning, without preparation, and where is he?' I saw at last that these thoughts were irrational, and contradicted the calm, settled belief of my better moments, and that they were dishonorable to God, and that it was my duty to resist them, and to assume and steadily maintain that Jesus in love had taken my dear one to his bosom. Since then the enemy has left me in peace. It is our duty to assume that a thing which would be in its very nature unkind, ungenerous, and unfair has not been done. What should we think of the crime of that human being who should take a young mind from circumstances where it was progressing in virtue, and throw it recklessly into corrupting and depraving society? Particularly if it were the child of one who had trusted and confided in him for years. No! no such slander as this shall the Devil ever fix in my mind against my Lord and my God! He who made me capable of such an absorbing, unselfish devotion for my children, so that I would sacrifice my eternal salvation for them, He certainly did not make me capable of more love, more disinterestedness than He has himself. He invented mothers' hearts, and he certainly has the pattern in his own, and my poor, weak rush-light of love is enough to show me that some things can be done and some things cannot be done." p. 321-2.

Twenty-two years later,—1879,—writing to Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mrs. Stowe said; "Does not the Bible plainly tell us of a time when there shall be no more pain? That is to be the end and crown of the Messiah's mission, when God shall wipe all tears away. My face is set that way, and yours, too, I trust." p. 415.

The book is a wonderful revelation of the individual and home life of Mrs. Stowe and the members of her family, and will give all its readers some charming views of many other interesting figures which move through its pages, and an insight of public events during eventful years in our country's history. The publishers have put the work in substantial and attractive dress, and have enriched it with steel engravings, photogravures and wood cuts.

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Recent Economic Changes, and their effect on the production and distribution of wealth and the well-being of society. By David A. Wells, LL.D., D.C.L., &c. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1890. 12mo. pp. xii. 493.

In this volume Mr. Wells has produced one of the most noteworthy and valuable books of recent times in the domain of Economics, a book crowded with facts of prime interest and value to the student of industrial and social progress, and with those facts marshalled and illumined by profound philosophical insight into their meaning and tendency. The author has undertaken to account for the depression of industry, the commercial crises, which since about 1872, have with brief intervals of renewed prosperity, weighed down the leading nations of the world. A cause must be sought as universal in character as the phenomenon to be explained, and one is found in the progressive mastery over natural forces which within a generation has taken place, and the consequent setting of nature at the drudgery of production with results of astounding magnitude. Some of the facts illustrating this progress read like romance, and their extraordinary interest offers a constant temptation to quotation and analysis, though one perceives clearly enough the futility of trying by means of quotation to exhibit the unity of this remarkable treatise. Its true value and import can be gathered only by a careful, consecutive and complete reading; though many will doubtless find a lower order of satisfaction in skipping from marvel to marvel among its facts. Not the least interesting portion of the work is an appendix in which the present status of the iron industry in this country is compared with that of England. It appears that our annual consumption of iron about equals the entire yearly British product.

In these times when the land is vocal with vehement denunciations of the iniquity of the distribution of wealth and products, and with equally vociferous laudation of the essential justice of existing arrangements, it is interesting to note that Mr. Wells comes from his minute survey of the fields over which industrial revolution has swept with the conviction "that the immense material progress that these changes have entailed has been, for mankind in general, a movement upward and not downward; for the better and not for the worse."

The Latin Hymn-Writers and Their Hymns. By the late Samuel Willoughby Duffield. Edited and completed by Prof. R. E. Thompson, D.D., of the University of Pennsylvania. New York. Funk & Wagnalls. 1889. 8vo. pp. xi, 511. $3.00.

This work is designed to be the companion of "English Hymns," written by the same author, issued by the same publishers, and noticed in the QUARTERLY for January, 1887. Those who are acquainted with that will be very likely to want this. Besides the editor's preface and the author's introduction, the book contains thirty-three chapters on the following topics: Praise Service of the Early Church; Study of the Latin Hymns; Hilary of Poitiers and the Earliest Latin Hymns; Pope Damascus and the Beginnings of Rhyme; Ambrose; Prudentius the First Christian Poet; Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia:

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Cælius Sedulius and his Alphabet Hymn; Venantius Fortunatus the Troubadour; Gregorius Magnus; the Venerable Bede; Rabanus Maurus; Notker of St. Gall; Walafrid Strabo; Hermannus Contractus; Peter Damiani; Hildebert and his Hymn; Bernard of Clairvaux; Abelard; Peter the Venerable; Bernard of Cluny; Adam of St. Victor; Thomas of Celano; Thomas Aquinas and John Bonaventura; Jacoponus; Thomas a Kempis; Francis Xavier; the Hymn-writers of the Breviary; the Unknown and the Less-known Hymn-Writers; Latin Hymnology and Protestantism; Bibliographical Notes; Index to Translated Hymns. The last two chapters reveal at a glance the herculean labor required for their compilation. A General Index of Hymn-writers and their Translators is furnished, and a second index to all Latin Hymns quoted or mentioned. Three Appendices are also added. The first gives in full the Latin hymn of Bernard of Morlaix —making over 2,500 words—"Concerning the Vanity of the World and the Longing for Eternal Life." The second and third consist of special Latin hymns and translations.

This is the first full treatise on the Latin Hymns ever offered to English readers in their own language. Fragmentary accounts, and more or less complete translations of noted selections are all that has hitherto been accessible to those who could not read the originals. Dr. Duffield's work has been thorough, and his aim has been to make it Bibliographical, as well as critical; to picture to us the men who wrote, their times and their surroundings. An amount of information of the most interesting description is thus given the reader. All that can be ascertained concerning the early and medieval hymns is also furnished with a fulness that leaves little to be desired. Disputed questions as to authorship are discussed in an earnest but impartial spirit, and although one is not always convinced by the author's reasonings and conclusion, his patient industry and effort at critical fairness command gratitude and respect. Dr. Duffield had peculiar talent for this kind of work, and it is to be regretted that death took him away before his task was completed. Some months before his departure, and in anticipation of it, he obtained the promise of Dr. Thompson to revise and finish whatever he might leave. This work has been faithfully done. "Dr. Thompson has a scholar's care for full, accurate and direct presentation of the facts." Some chapters have been wholly rewritten by him, all have been revised, and about one-third of the entire volume has come from his pen. Most of the hymns are given both in the Latin and in English translation, so that the book comes quite within the range of any reader of our own language. Ministers, scholars, authors, editors, theological teachers and students, college professors, teachers in high schools and seminaries, writers and lovers of poetry, students of hymnology, and general readers, of critical taste, who wish to make their information as well-rounded and complete as possible, will be interested in and profited by familiarity with this result of scholarly work, patient research and valuable critical study. The publishers have done their part with great care and in excellent taste and thoroughness.

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The Life-Work of the Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin. By Florine Thayer McCray. Funk & Wagnalls, New York. 1889. Square 12mo. pp. 440. $2.00.

This very interesting book, undertaken and prepared in full knowledge of the intended publication of the "Life," to which we have called attention in a preceding page, and written with hearty consent of Mrs. Stowe and her son, who freely placed materially for the work in the author's hands, is therefore no rival to their interesting volume. True to its title, it has to do with the "Life-work," rather than with the incidents of biography of Mrs. Stowe, and is valuable as setting forth the character and extent of the literary labors which have made the "Author of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'" so deservedly famous. Of necessity much interesting biographical information blends with the literary history and adds interest to the knowledge given concerning the vast amount of good writing done by a busy and devoted wife and mother. One rises from its perusal surprised that so much has been accomplished under so many difficulties and domestic demands. Few, probably, even among the most ardent admirers of Mrs. Stowe's great work, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," have any idea of the number and character of the volumes which were the creation of her genius. To such Mrs. McCray's book will be a surprising revelation, giving as it does not merely the titles of all, but also a fair synopsis and well-prepared analysis of the substance and peculiaries of each. To this the author adds her own comment and opinion of the respective books,—judicious and fair for the most part, though occasionally biased by personal friendship,—and a digest of the opinions of eminent reviews. Mrs. McCray's style is what may well be called popular,—with occasional blemishes evidently caused by haste in her work,—and her book cannot fail to be especially fascinating to young people, and interesting and instructive to all classes of readers. We heartily commend it to those who would know how much and in what manner our distinguished and honored country-woman has done for the world by her busy and fertile pen. The publishers have brought out the work in good form and style, and embellished it with many appropriate illustrations.

The Bible and Modern Thought. By George H. Emerson, D.D. Boston. Universalist Publising House. 1890. 12mo. pp. 165. 50 cents.

In order to meet the popular demand for a knowledge of the position of modern thinkers, specialists in the various fields of Christian evidences, particularly as that position affects the authority and authenticity of the Bible, and to show that much of what is claimed for that position is not included in it, but is wholly unwarranted, Dr. Emerson prepared a series of brief articles for the *Christian Leader*, which he has since arranged in book form as indicated above. In clearness of statement, conciseness, familiarity with the theme discussed, happy faculty in the selection of pertinent illustration,—qualities which peculiarly distinguish the Doctor's work,—this volume shows him at his best, and cannot fail to secure in its readers the end had in view in its preparation.

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We call attention to a few particulars in which the value of the work seems to us unmistakably manifest; The sharply defined distinction between criticism and technical rationalism,—"Criticism aims to determine *what the Bible is;* rationalism has contempt for the actual Bible, and impudently aims to make it into what, in its judgment, *a Bible ought to be.* Criticism studies documents, parchments, historic veracity; rationalism produces all results from the particular individual's consciousness." The fact that whatever results enlightened and thorough criticism reaches we must accept and heed, no matter what it may cost us to do so, and that to do otherwise is to fight against intelligence. The validity and the necessity of reason in determining evidence; and the fact that, when reason is convinced that God has made a revelation to man, it is consistent with reason that we bow to the authority of the contents of the revelation. The very significant fact "that while Germany has been a fruitful source of revolutionary theories touching the contents of Scripture, at the present date most of the German scholars are conservative. Nearly all the students and at the outset disciples of the iconoclastic critics have, by more extended research, been led to declare against their masters. Wellhausen has few sympathizers and many antagonists among his German contemporaries."

We also call attention to the very important chapters on "The 'Confluent Lines,'" "The Question of Canonicity," "The Bible and Mankind," the latter being a remarkably fine specimen of reasoning from analogy, in support of the proposition that the Bible, if it would have a durable place among men, must have its foundation in the welcome of mankind. Whoever will make a study of what Dr. Emerson has so well stated, must come from the perusal of the book with the conviction that what the truths of the Bible really do for man's spiritual nature is such an evidence of its value that he may well be patient with what men may say as to the time and arrangement of its many portions, and may be sure that the final word in the discussion will not rob him of the Bread of Life.

The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D.D. Vols. ix., x. and xi. New York. Funk & Wagnalls. 1888, 1889. 8vo. pp. iv, 364; iv. 362; viii, 454. $1.50 each.

On several occasions, as the successive volumes of this series have been issued, we have called attention to their valuable suggestions, the wonderful ability of Dr. Parker as a commentator and homilist, and the help afforded by "The People's Bible" to preachers who desire to know the best in the great "art of putting things." The preacher in the so-called Liberal faith will here find much that he can turn to good account, very little that he will feel like censoriously criticising, and a fair exhibit of the rational and helpful manner in which advanced thinkers in other pulpits are bringing forth "things new and old" for the instruction and comfort of their hearers. Especially will he see,—and it will be valuable to him in these days when it is popu-

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lar in so many quarters to throw suspicion if not contempt on the elder Scriptures,—that the Old Testament, alike in its history, ritual, prophecy and poetry, furnishes the most wonderful illustrations, the most apt and easily applied and appreciated lessons needed by men in every age. The seals which seem to be put on many dark and mysterious sayings and events, break at the touch of real genius possessed by such a sympathetic student as Dr. Parker, and clear vision takes the place of obscurity. He is always suggestive, and often his wonderful touch clothes many a passage with a freshness and beauty that fill us with amazement, alike for his quick perception and our own stupidity. There have been more learned and more strictly critical expositions of the Scriptures, but we know of nothing else so combining at once useful commentary, wise exegesis and helpful sermonic thought. His logic seldom limps, his rhetoric is always in good taste, and a sweet tenderness, so conspicuous in the treatment of those passages which especially address the heart, opens the very fountain of our affections, applying assurances of a divine sympathy which direct, cheer and comfort us in our meditations. We give a sample of his style in comment on a familiar passage in the book of Job: "Who has not said, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord?' Sometimes there has been hesitation as to the close of the sentence; the voice has not been equally steady throughout the whole enunciation. The sufferer has been able to say, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away;' then came a mark of punctuation not found in the books, not known to writers and scholars—a great heart-stave; and after that the words were added with some tremulousness—'blessed be the name of the Lord.' But it is not easy talk. Do not let us imagine that passages like this can be quoted, glibly, flippantly, thrown back in easy retort when grief has come and darkened the house and turned the life into a cloud. Words so noble can only be uttered by the heart in its most sacred moments, and then can hardly be uttered in trumpet tone, but in a stifled voice; yet, notwitstanding the stifling and the sobbing, there is a strong tone that goes right through all the bitterness and the woe, and magnifies God."

The publishers are putting these books on the market at an astonishingly low price, so low that they seem to be within the reach of all; and no preacher can afford to be without them.

A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. By Charles J. Ellicott, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Andover. W. F. Draper. 1889. 8vo. pp. 342. $2.75.

Bishop Ellicott's commentaries on the minor epistles of St. Paul have for a long time held the first rank as helps in understanding that portion of the New Testament. Now, after about twenty-five years waiting, he is again heard from with this his greatest work, the aim of which is "to ascertain as far as possible, by means of a close and persistent consideration of the grammatical form and logical connec-

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tion of the language of the original, what the inspired writer exactly desires to say." As to the text employed, Bishop Ellicott says: "The text has been formed after a wholly independent consideration of the critical material supplied by Tischendorf, and especially by Tregelles, —long experience having led me to fix attention more closely on the selected witnesses that appear in the pages of the latter critic than on the more collective testimonies that are found in the pages of the former." In the Introduction we have a description of the Corinth to which Paul directed this epistle, not the ancient and famous city bearing at first the name of Ephyra, and destroyed by the Romans in the year B. C. 146; but the Corinth built on the one hundred years deserted ruins by Julius Cæsar, in the year 46 B. C., and in which at the time Paul wrote, "Greek art, Greek culture, and alas, Greek license and sensuality were predominant." A very careful analysis of the contents of the epistle is then given; and after the statement that "on the genuineness and authenticity of the epistle no reasonable doubt has ever been entertained," the critical work is begun.

Of that work it is due the author to say that it is a conscientious effort to bring out the thought and relations of thought from the standpoint of a strict grammatical exegesis. But when this has been done the dogmatic bias of the Bishop frequently leads him to the addition of a special paragraph not warranted by the text. This is noticeable in the solicitude to read into the fifteenth chapter the dogma of the resurrection of these physical bodies; and in the words added to the critical treatment of the verse which declares that God shall "be all in all." The general and critical note is: "On this the sublimest revelation ever vouchsafed to mortal man, we presume not to make any further comment. We leave the passage in all the amptitude of its universality, regarding πᾶσιν as probably the generalizing neuter, and as including all persons and all things; Comp. Eph. i. 23; in Col. iii. 11 the whole context implies the masculine." Then comes a sentence qualifying the meaning by the requirements of dogma: "While, however, it seems most reverent thus to leave it, we certainly draw from it no inferences in favor of the popular universalism which has been derived from it: comp. De Wette *in loco*. God will be all in all, but He will be so in *all* His attributes, in His justice and His righteousness, as well as in His mercy and His love." Here is a protest against the "popular universalism," so called, based on a wholly mistaken notion that the "popular universalism" in its idea of God all in all excludes any of His attributes, or the operation of any of those attributes, and a forgetfulness of the New Testament doctrine that since God is in His very essence love, justice, righteousness, mercy, and whatever else may be atttributed to Him, are all manifestations of the Infinite Love.

The mechanical make up of this volume is of the very best, paper, typography and binding all being excellent.

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Aryan Sun-Myths the Origin of Religion. With an introduction by Charles Morris. Troy, N. Y. Nims & Knight. 1889. 12mo. pp. 192. $1.25.

This is a curious mixture by an author who appears before the world without a name, and attempts to show how much there is in revealed religion that is similar to the myths and legends of the religions of antiquity, and who would have us believe that as the latter have no foundation in fact, therefore the former is as baseless. The cross and a crucified Saviour, he claims in all the mythical religions. What of it? Does that prove that Jesus of Nazareth was not crucified? Can a myth destroy a well-authenticated historic fact? Is similarity identity? If not, what does all the author's patch work amount to? He makes some strange statements. As for example, he says (p. 112):

"It would appear that the crucifixion was not commonly believed in among early Christians. It is contradicted three times in the Acts of the Apostles. 'Whom ye slew and hanged on a tree,' says Peter of Jesus. He states again: 'Whom they slew and hanged on a tree,' and repeats: 'They took him down from the tree and laid him in a sepulchre.' There is no crucifixion, as commonly understood, in these statements"

Let him turn back to page 32 and answer himself, thus: "It was an ancient custom to use trees as gibbetts for crucifixion, or if artificial, to call the cross a *tree*." A better memory might have saved him from such blundering exegesis; and certainly a little care would have prevented the following paragraph on page 38: "Crishna was preceded by Rama, who was born a short time before his birth and whose life was also sought by Kansa."

Speaking Pieces for Little Scholars and Older Pupils. Original recitations and dialogues, including charades and entertainments for School Exhibitions and Home Pleasure, with pieces for Birthday and Wedding Anniversaries, Decoration Day and other occasional celebrations. By Ellen Ortensa Peck. Boston. Lee & Shepard. 1890. 16mo. pp. 177.

This little book is well adapted to its purpose. It includes original and well selected recitations, dialogues, and other forms of literary entertainment for the anniversaries mentioned on the title page, for other occasional celebrations, and for use at all times in interesting and instructing children of all ages. The legitimate use which these may make of it will also greatly please the older members of the family. By all means get it if you are looking for something both pleasing and profitable for the home circle.

Jesus and the Men About Him. By Charles F. Dole. Boston. Geo. H. Ellis. 1888. Small 4to. pp. 81.

This neat little work contains five essays, on: "John the Baptist, the Ascetic;" "Nicodemus, the Pharisee;" "Nathaniel, the Pure in Heart;" "Peter and John, the Disciples;" "Jesus, the Master." They are instructive studies, unmistakably the work of one who is in deep sympathy with the purpose of the Great Teacher, is gifted with keen spiritual insight, and who steadily aims at the highest practical ends in human life and character. We step with the author into the

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times and surroundings of Jesus upon the earth, and are deeply impressed that what he was, what he said, and what he did, has special fitness for human beings of all times and in all surroundings.

Round the Globe in Old and New Paths. By Sullivan Holman M'Collester. Illustrated. Boston. Universalist Publishing House. 1890. 12mo. pp. iv, 354. $1.00.

The work of preparing these pages for the press was evidently done in haste. The repetition of words and phrases, which might have been avoided by a little more attention to synonyms and a careful revision of the manuscript, is a blemish. Nevertheless the book is both entertaining and instructive. Dr. M'Collester is no novice in travelling, and he goes about with his eyes open and alert to note what is curious, historic, or otherwise noteworthy. Much of the ground here described was more or less familiar to him, as he had previously made four visits to the Old World, and had been a student of many foreign ways and customs. "Hitherto," he says, "the exit has been due east, but this time it is due west and round the world." His course was from Boston to San Francisco, thence across the Pacific to Japan, China, Singapore and Ceylon, India, the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates and Tigris to the Nile, Palestine, Ephesus, Athens, Italy and Malta, Spain, London, Ireland, and thence from Queenstown, with face still set towards the west, across the Atlantic to New York,—a demonstration that he has "rounded the globe," and has "travelled not less than fifty thousand miles." The two longest chapters in the book, describing the country, people, government and customs of Japan and India, are to us most full of interest; and just at this time when our church has its attention called to Japan and to its projected work there, what Dr. M'Collister says of that wonderful empire is especially timely and helpful to a clear understanding of the peculiariities of the land and the people, where and with whom we are to try the great modern experiment of planting genuine New Testament Christianity. The book contains a large number of illustrations, which greatly assist the reader in a clear understanding of the author's description of the places visited. The Publishing House has brought the work out in the best style of the printer's and binder's art, and furnishes it at a remarkably low price. Of course it will go into all our Sunday school libraries, and familiarity with its pages cannot fail to stimulate our missionary zeal.

Unitarianism: Its Origin and History. A course of sixteen lectures delivered in Channing Hall, Boston, 1888–89. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1890. 12mo. pp. xxviii, 394. $1.00.

Some of these sixteen lectures have appeared in the *Unitarian Review*, the remainder are now for the first time in print. The table of contents shows the following themes, and by whom treated: Early Christian Doctrine, Rev. Joseph Henry Allen; Christianity from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century, Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D.; Unitarianism and the Reformation, Rev. S. C. Beach; Unitarianism in England, Rev. Brooke Herford; American Unitarian and German

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Thought, Rev. J. H. Allen; The Church and Parish in Massachusetts, Rev. Geo. E. Ellis, D.D.; Early New England Unitarians, Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D.; Channing, Rev. Geo. W. Briggs, D.D.; Transcentalism: The New England Renaissance, Rev. Francis Tiffany; Theodore Parker, Rev. S. B. Stewart; Unitarianism and Modern Literature, Rev. Francis Hornbrooke; Unitarianism and Modern Biblical Criticism, Rev. James De Normandie; Unitarianism and Modern Scientific Thought, Rev. T. R. Slicer; The Law of Righteousness, Rev. George Batchelor; Relation of Unitarianism to Philosophy, Rev. C. C. Everett, D.D.; Ecclesiastical and Denominational Tendencies, Rev. Grindall Reynolds. "They were intended," says Mr. Spaulding, in his introduction, "to give to those who might attend the course a sense of the worth of Unitarianism as a faith which has deep historic roots, and from the beginning has had great allies." This purpose is well sustained, and some of the lectures are valuable epitomes of the history of the trinitarian controversy in early and in late times; while all are ably prepared and most excellent reading. Unitarian theology, as well as Unitarian policy in setting forth its theology are seen to have been a growth, especially noticeable in regard to the doctrine of human destiny. The claim that Unitarianism now means (see pp. 48, 59, 256) the positive conviction and proclamation of the salvation of all souls is quite in contrast with the opposite doctrine affirmed by Dr. Henry Ware, Jr., in his Sermons on Probation, published in 1847; and shows a harmony of opinion very different from that attributed to Unitarians by Rev. Dr. Walker, in 1823, when he said: "*Some* understanding by that 'everlasting destruction' to which the wicked are to be consigned, an *absolute annihilation; others* conceive of their sufferings as *consequential*, and *indefinite* as to their duration; and *others*, that *all punishment will be remedial, and will end at last in a universal restoration to goodness and happiness.*"

We rise from the perusal of this volume with the feeling expressed by Mr. Spaulding as he closes his introduction,—"a profound feeling of gratitude to the society that planned these Channing Hall lectures, to the men who delivered them, and to the association that has published them."

Christianity and Agnosticism. A controversy consisting of papers by Henry Wace, D,D., Prof. Thomas H. Huxley, The Bishop of Peterborough, W. H. Mallock, Mrs. Humphrey Ward. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1889. Paper. 12mo. pp. 329. 50 cents.

The papers in this volume are a reprint from the "Nineteenth Century" and "Fortnightly." They are valuable as showing what is said by leading minds on each side of the controversy involved, and are in most handy form for consecutive reading or for future reference.

The Epistles of St. John. Twenty-one Discourses, with Greek Text, Comparative Versions, and Notes chiefly exegetical. By Wliliam Alexander, D.D., D.C.L., etc., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 8vo. pp. xvi, 309. $1.50.

This is a revision, enlargement, improvement upon, because in some

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respects a correction of, the Notes on the Epistles of John furnished by the author to Lange's Commentary. Bishop Alexander here gives us the result of the study of years on this special subject, and although much in his treatment of the epistles seems to be wholly irrelevant, savoring more of the church functionary than of the unbiassed critic, we find many astute renderings, much clear spiritual insight, and some valuable suggestions which are helpful to a true understanding of the meaning of the words of that disciple whom Jesus loved. Because there is obviously in the epistles much that throws light on expressions in John's Gospel, we think that the author sees more than they really contain when he treats them as a whole and in detail as a synopsis and index of the Gospel. And it is quite certain that the good bishop greatly errs in the late date to which he assigns the writing of the Apocalypse. The internal evidence from expressions in that wonderful vision, as for example, the command to measure the courts of the temple at Jerusalem, long after the temple had been destroyed,—if the bishop's date is correct,—makes demonstrably against his theory. In one very important respect this exegetical work has great value: the author insists on the importance of placing before us a clear view of the historical surroundings of the apostle in order that his argument and effort may be understood. In so doing he enables us to see that contemporary errors, such as Gnosticism, Docetism, etc., are being combatted; but also that the argument against these is a help to the application of a general lesson, suited to all times and circumstances, the importance and grounds of that Christian life which distinguishes all true believers. In parallel columns the author places the Greek text, authorized and revised versions, and a translation of his own. Thus furnished, the reader sees the differences at a glance, and can compare them with the text which is declared by Tischendorf and others to be the most full and complete. This volume is issued as one of a series known as "The Expositor's Bible," and is brought out by the enterprising publishers in handsome style, and at low price.

Origin and Formation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Reciting when, where, under what circumstances, for what purpose and by whom they were written, as obtained from the writings of that eminent nobleman and historian Nehemiah, who was appointed Governor of Palestine, B. C. 446; with an Appendix containing Prophecy Sustained in the Histories of Egypt, Assyria and Babylon; and a review of Radical Views of the Bible. By Lorenzo Burge. Boston. Lee & Shepard. 1890. 12mo. pp. 132. $1.00.

The author claims for this little work, that in it "will be found a history of the origin and formation of the Hebrew Scriptures, taken wholly from its pages, yet until now unknown." His wonderful discovery is, "That Nehemiah wrote the Hebrew Scriptures . . the circumstantial evidence is so strong as to make it morally certain that no one but he could have done it." "All commentators agree that the first six and the thirteenth chapters of the book of Nehemiah were written by him. An examination of these chapters shows the same peculiarities of style, the same mannerisms, as do all the other books

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of the 'Law and the Prophets,' and it is certain that if he wrote the chapters mentioned he must have written the whole work."

Mr. Burge is confused in his thought by not discriminating between an author and a compiler, or a translator. The "circumstantial evidence" is found chiefly in peculiarities of diction. "The most prominent of these are the superfluous use of the word 'now' and the phrase 'it came to pass,' in commencing paragraphs; and the redundant use of the conjunction 'and.'" This proves too much. The "peculiarity" is found in Josephus, and in the evangelists of the New Testament. Are the writings attributed to them the production of one mind? They are characteristics of the nation at large, and not of a special individual. Besides, the manifest differences in style in other respects is well taken by more skilful critics than Mr. Burge, as demonstration that the various books embraced in "The Law and the Prophets" could not have been the work of any one man.

That Nehemiah had much to do with translating "The Law and the Prophets" into the language familiar to the Jews after their long captivity and dispersion is doubtless true; but so had Ezra, so had the "Great Synagogue," and the pretence that it was all the work of Nehemiah, or that whoever was engaged in it became in any sense the "author" of "The Law and the Prophets," is simply absurd.

A New England Girlhood Outlined From Memory. By Lucy Larcom. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 16mo. pp. 274. 75 cents.

This charming autobiography, issued as a volume of "The Riverside Library for Young People," is just as interesting to older readers. It deals with a childhood passed in a portion of New England how no longer rural, and a youth and early womanhood in the mills of Lowell, now operated by a very different class of girls. And of many of her associates in those mill days, their work, their literary efforts, their coming before the public through the pages of the "Lowell Offering" and the "Operatives' Magazine,"—the first originating with the late Rev. Abel C. Thomas and Rev. T. B. Thayer, of our church, and the second in the Literary Society of the First Congregational Church in Lowell, — Miss Larcom gives some wonderful sketches. The tone of the book is sweet and wholesome. It is just such a book as will do our girls good to read, as it cannot fail to beget a deeper appreciation of a noble life and an inspiration and incitement for its attainment. Miss Larcom will render further service to all classes of readers if she will give to the public in the same unostentatious but impressive manner, the reminiscences of her later years.

Asolando Fancies and Facts. By Robert Browning. Author's edition. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. Crown 8vo. pp. 114. $1.25.

A melancholy interest attaches to this volume, appearing as it did simultaneously with the announcement of the decease of its author,—the sad assurance that it is the last to be looked for from his pen. It contains about thirty short poems, which fairly illustrate the peculiarly

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mixed and often confused and confusing style of Mr. Browning, and yet are so rich and full in mental stimulus and suggestion. This authorized American edition, put up in style corresponding with the publisher's issue of the poet's now completed works, contains also an excellent portrait of the fine manly face of the author,—all that is now left us to suggest how he appeared in his later days. The touching Epilogue in this volume, itself his own most appropriate epitaph, seems to hint a premonition of the near approach of the messenger who should close his earthly career and re-unite him to the object of his dearest love:

> "One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake."

Unspoken Sermons. Third Series. By George MacDonald. London and New York. Longmans, Green & Co. 1889. Crown 8vo. pp. 262.

Ever since the appearance of his first book under this title, in 1867, George McDonald's sermons have been great favorites with those who, having broken away from the traditional orthodoxy, have enjoyed seeing some of its horrors arraigned in strong language. Probably few sermons have been so frequently quoted, or formed the ground work for discourses on the "Inexorableness of Divine Love," and kindred themes, as has this eloquent Scotchman's sermon on "Our God a Consuming Fire," in the early volume above referred to. The book before us reveals many of the peculiar mental and rhetorical qualities so noticeable in the first; although with, in general, less well-sustained power, and much more mysticism and obscurity. Nothing of this kind, however, characterizes the sermon on "Justice," the longest and the ablest in the volume, which, as a criticism of the dogma of vicarious atonement, is most thorough and scathing. We give an extract:

"If the suffering of the sinner is indeed required by the justice of God, let it be administered. But shall we say adequate to confront the base representation that it is not punishment, not the suffering of the sinner that is required, but suffering! Nay, as if this were not depth enough to crown all heathenish representation of the ways of God, that the suffering of the innocent is unspeakably preferable in his eyes to that of the wicked, as a make-up for wrong done? Nay, again, 'in the lowest deep a lower deep,' that the suffering of the loving, the suffering of the eternally and perfectly good, is supremely satisfactory to the pure justice of the Father of spirits! Not all the suffering that could be heaped upon the wicked could buy them a moment's respite, so little is their suffering a counterpoise to their wrong; in the working of this law of equivalents, this *lex talionis*, the sufferings of millions of years could not equal the sin of a moment, could not pay off one farthing of the deep debt. But so much more valuable, precious, and dear, is the suffering of the innocent, so much more of a satisfaction—observe—to the *justice* of God, that in return for that

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suffering another wrong is done: the sinners who deserve and ought to be punished are set free.

"I know the root of all that can be said on the subject; the notion is imbedded in the gray matter of my Scotch brains; and if I reject it, I know what I reject. For the love of God my heart rose early against the low invention. Strange that in a Christian land it should need be said, that to punish the innocent and let the guilty go free is unjust! It wrongs the innocent, the guilty, and God himself. It would be the worst of all wrongs to the guilty to treat them as innocent. The whole device is a piece of spiritual charlatanry—fit only for a fraudulent jail delivery. If the wicked ought to be punished, it were the worst possible perversion of justice to take a righteous being however strong, and punish him instead of the sinner however weak.

. . . To represent the living God as a party to such a style of action, is to veil with a mask of cruelty and hypocrisy the face whose glory is only to be seen in the face of Jesus; to put a tirade of vulgar Roman legality into the mouth of the Lord God merciful and gracious, who will by no means clear the guilty. Rather than believe such ugly folly of him whose very name is enough to make those that know him heave the breath of the hart panting for the waterbrooks; rather than think of him what in a man would make me avoid him at the risk of my life, I would say, 'There is no God; let us neither eat nor drink, that we may die! For, lo, this is not our God! This is not he for whom we have waited!' But I have seen his face and heard his voice in the face and the voice of Jesus Christ; and I say this is our God, the very one whose being the Creator makes it an infinite gladness to be the created. I will not have the God of the scribes and the Pharisees, whether Jewish or Christian, Protestant, Roman or Greek, but thy Father, O Christ! He is my God. If you say, 'That is our God, not yours!' I answer, 'Your portrait of your God is an evil caricature of Christ.' "

Romanism and the Republic. A Discussion of the Purposes, Assumptions, Principles and Methods of the Roman Catholic Hierachy. By Rev. Isaac J. Lansing, M. A., of Worcester, Mass. With an Introduction by Rev. Leroy M. Vernon, D.D., late Superintendent of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Italy. Boston: Arnold Publishing Co. 1890. 12mo. pp. 447.

This book contains eighteen sermons preached by the author to his congregation, in the Salem Square Congregational Church in Worcester, during the summer and autumn of 1888. They are a contribution to the controversy of American Protestantism with the Papacy, growing out of, or chiefly incited by, the attitude of the latter towards our public school system. Mr. Lansing devotes a large portion of his book to the consideration of the attitude of Rome towards our free schools, and also gives attention to the organization known as Jesuits and their object; the antagonism of Rome to civil and religious liberty; and to the Romish confessional. His motive in all springs from his conviction that the Papacy is bent on working injury to our coun-

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try. Inasmuch as Roman Catholics, both priests and laymen, are not agreed among themselves on the school question, no small number of them being heartily opposed, and outspoken in their opposition, to taking the children of Roman Catholics out of our public schools, we are of the opinion that it would have been wiser to have kept the discussion of that subject free from all other questions, in a book intended to create or influence public opinion in regard to the only point in the controversy which can be decided by public action. This is not saying that the other questions should not be discussed in the pulpit, nor be set before the world on the printed page, but simply that their combination with the one and only subject which it is in our power to control by our votes, prejudices, angers and alienates those who would be allies in this great work, and who ought to be encouraged to unite with us in relation thereto, in the exercise of the rights of citizens.

The price of the book was originally placed at $1. But in order to secure the widest possible circulation, it has been reduced one half, with eleven cents added for postage when ordered to be sent by mail.

The Law of Husband and Wife. Compiled for popular use by Lelia Josephine Bobinson, LL.B., member of the Boston Bar. Boston, MDCCCXC. Lee & Shepard. 12mo. pp. xvii, 163. $1.00.

There is probably no subject on which information is more sought, or more needed by the good people of these United States, than the fixing the mutual rights of husband and wife; the respective claims of each on the property of the other during the continuance of the marriage relation, and after its termination by death or divorce; the law governing contracts by married women; their ability to sue and to be sued; to enter into business and trade relations; to form business partnerships with their husbands or with others; intelligence as to separation, divorce, custody of children, alimony, and kindred matters. In the book before us, the author, a member of the Suffolk Bar, covers the entire range of these topics. The volume contains the statute laws of each State on the various subjects of which it treats, and the decisions of the Courts as they appear in the published State Reports, together with extensive general information upon all phases of the laws governing husband and wife.

All the volumes noticed under the head of "Contemporary Literature," will be found on sale at our Publishing House.

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JULY, 1890.

RICHARD EDDY, D.D., - EDITOR.

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Article XVI.

Theological Piracy.

Theft as defined by eminent jurists and unabridged lexicons, is the taking of the property of another without any right or leave. The term is commonly limited to that form of property which is material and tangible in its quality and character. There are, however, other kinds of wealth or possessions that may be clandestinely appropriated that are of far more value than golden coin or material substance. Authors often complain of piracy in literature, editors that their articles are used without credit or consent, clergymen even that their sermons, or parts of them, are literally stolen. The greatest English poet paints the hypocrite as one who "steals the livery of heaven." And one, by base insinuations and false reports may steal the good name of another. Then, an individual may enjoy all the advantages of good institutions, wholesome laws, moral surroundings, Christian refinements, without lifting a finger in aid of those movements that create and nourish these inestimable blessings,—reaping largely and daily the benefits that flow from the influences of religion or the services of government, without contributing the smallest pittance to the support of either. Without multiplying others, these, as will be clearly recognized, are some of the different methods by which a person may appropriate to himself the property or labors of another to which he is neither morally nor legally entitled. To this catalogue, we propose, in the present paper, to add another form of piracy or theft that is extensively practiced in the religious world, and which may be termed theological.

We repeat nothing new, though the form of statement may seem somewhat unusual, perhaps startling, when we say that thousands of professed Christians, honest, devout, and rigidly upright in everything else, are clearly open to the charge, under certain circumstances and in peculiar trying exigencies, of stealing their theology. This allegation, though apparently

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rough and sweeping in the letter, is made in the spirit of the deepest sympathy in view of the irresistible temptations and pressing needs that invite the action, while its turpitude is essentially mitigated by the charming innocence and cool unconsciousness with which it is consummated. With more explicitness, then, we affirm that not a few persons connected with the different branches of the Christian church, and professing to believe in certain religious doctrines, are often forced by their own spiritual necessities, to appropriate to themselves the doctrines and hopes of another denomination to which they do not belong, and toward which they disclaim all fellowship and sympathy. These persons find that their own ideas of God and the future life, do not answer the noblest aspirations and deepest cravings of the soul,—that in the dark and stormy hours of this changing world, they do not afford sufficient light to cheer and guide them,—that in those seasons when the heart most needs strength and consolation it turns in vain to its own creed for something to fill its dismal and aching void. At such times of spiritual famine, these parties look with covetous eyes over into their neighbor's fields, where the richness of the verdure and the beauty of the scene indicate a greater abundance of food; and very much as the plodding farmer's herds are often impelled by the barrenness of those pastures in which they have been enclosed to break down or thrust their heads through the fence of an adjoining field where taller and sweeter grass tempts their gaze, so the souls of these devout men and women, bitterly suffering from spiritual hunger, are compelled to reach forth into the greener theological estates of their neighbors and appropriate to their needs the sweeter hopes and the more beautiful truths that grow and blossom there.

Or speaking without figure or exaggeration, we think that we, as a class of Christian believers, have serious cause for complaint, that so many who differ from us on the subject of religion, should be guilty of using, on certain occasions, without giving any credit or expressing any gratitude, our religious ideas—that when their own feeble lamps fail to illuminate the darkness that surrounds their minds, they should seize upon

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our torches, use the light of our faith to make their way calm, radiant, and hopeful. Against this practice, so general and so demoralizing to the interests of religious truth, as well as to downright religious honesty, we frankly utter an emphatic protest. Under this arraignment we have no wish to deprive any burdened heart of that divine peace or strength that comes from the larger and grander hope. We welcome with cordial greetings all crushed and bleeding souls to all the comfort and joy that flow from the distinguishing doctrines of Universalism. But we ask simply as a matter of justice and fair dealing, that when the bosom is healed, the hunger appeased, and the new light sheds its brightness, that due acknowledgements be made of the source from which these great benefits have been derived.

Rigid consistency and common honesty would naturally suggest that when any number of persons profess to receive a system of theology as the truth of God and the only ground of salvation,—giving to it their support and sympathy in preference to all other forms of belief, they would also, under all circumstances and in every emergency, make it their constant companion, lean upon it for strength, and look to it for consolation in every earthly need. We should certainly have reason to infer that the public acceptance of a creed implied its practical application,—that its professed advocates would imbibe its spirit, make its principles the rule of life, apply its teachings to their daily wants, and that when the shadows of bereavement darkened their home, they would seek in it that spiritual comfort their hearts so earnestly crave. And he can hardly be called honest who, when the day of trial comes, finds that his own religious belief will not stand the strain of events, therefore falls back upon his neighbor's broader gospel and grander hope, and seeks in some deeper fountain than his own for the water that springs up into everlasting life.

Impressive facts are of frequent occurrence in this world of uncertainty and death, that prove beyond question that Christian men and women are seriously amenable to the indictment of religious theft; i.e., of using the doctrines of another sect to

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which they have no moral right or honest title. Consider, for instance, the parent who accepts the theory of endless banishment and misery to every soul that passes into eternity unconverted and impenitent. His child, a son or daughter, having attained the age of accountability, is suddenly swept by accident or disease from earthly scenes—snatched, as in a moment, from this the only state of probation without giving the least evidence of conversion, of that change of heart which the creed affirms to be absolutely essential to their eternal welfare. The plain, inevitable, logical sequence that follows from such a theological formula, is the eternal damnation of that child. According to the teachings of this parent's theology there is no ground of hope whatever of its future salvation. Hell, with all its intense misery and hopeless gloom, is its final, inevitable doom. This is the fixed, irreversible condition of that child's immortal spirit, as presented in the creed of the so-called evangelical church,—the condition, in fact, of every soul that has not experienced, this side of the grave, that mysterious change of nature termed the new birth. And if this bereaved parent will look the theology of his own church directly in the face he will see written there in characters of unspeakable sadness the eternal separation, suffering, and loss of his own offspring.

But in this season of overwhelming grief, when the shadows rest so heavily upon heart and home, when a sweet voice is forever silent, a radiant light gone out, and a glad presence has vanished from earthly sight, does this parent take this creed directly to his heart and read therein the endless damnation of his own child? Does he in such an hour accept the logical deductions of his own faith? To the credit of human nature, and to the honor of God who made the living heart, be it said, he does not. He does not, for a single moment, gaze upon that picture that his own creed so fearfully paints upon the background of eternity. He shrinks from the terrible thought that *his* child is to be the victim of such a horrible destiny. And now, under these circumstances of perplexity and distress, what course does this afflicted parent pursue? As an honest man we should say that he ought to accept, however heartrending

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the conclusions of his own theology, and count with mathematical certainty upon the endless agony of the object of his parental love. Professing to believe in certain views of God and his government, he is under the strongest moral obligation to make those views practically and absolutely his own in every position of life and to follow their inevitable consequences wherever they may lead. He has no moral right, no business whatever, to turn his thoughts in any other direction, or look to any other source for consolation and hope. There is no other scene that he can honestly contemplate than that which his own religious faith pictures upon the canvass of the eternal ages. Let him, then, look upon that scene till his soul is sick and his eyes ache with the painful sight. Let him feel, though it crushes his heart into the very dust, the terrible incubus of a doctrine the most blasphemous and fiendish ever invented by man. Let him behold unveiled in all their native hideousness the results of a belief which he supports, teaches, and seeks to spread!

Alas, for the religious integrity and moral consistency of mankind, this is the very last thing this bereaved father or mother would think of doing. They have a more congenial substitute, a shorter and easier method of satisfying the unutterable cravings of their hearts in the day of their trouble. There is a neighbor who believes in a more benevolent and cheerful faith, and to this they now turn for comfort and light. They very coolly abandon their own theology for a season and appropriate to their spiritual use the broader and brighter hopes of another. Like the poor man driven by the pitiless storm out of his old, narrow, leaky habitation into night and darkness, and while wandering in despair, suffering from hunger and cold, sees the bright light of a human home, which he enters, snatching from the plentiful table the wheaten loaf to satisfy his hunger,—so when the tempest of sorrow beats upon these bereaved souls, and the light is gone out, the table utterly bare, and the night winds dismally howl, till they can no longer endure the desolation and nakedness of their own dilapidated structures, cross over into their more fortunate neighbor's mansion, and seize upon the manna of truth to appease the gnawings of spiritual starvation.

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These cases cited of stricken parents and the methods employed to nourish their famished and bleeding hearts, are no uncommon or exaggerated picture. But not only does the death of unconverted children compel thousands of professed Christians to resort for religious comfort to a faith which in days of prosperity they affect to despise, the same practice finds like necessity in the earthly loss of any person or kindred upon whom the afflicted have placed their tender affections, and in whose presence they found their sweetest delight. At such times, what certain satisfaction does the creed of the evangelical churches furnish of a happy immortality for these departed ones, particularly if they have not been regenerated according to the standards of that church? What spirit of consolation, what balm of healing, what certain hope can broken hearts gather from a doctrine that expressly declares that there is no change after death, no hope for the unconverted beyond the grave, and which consigns all such to the "pains of hell forever?" Not the faintest ray. Such persons however do die. They often pass suddenly into eternity with their sins unforgiven and their hearts unchanged so far as we can know. And yet those who are left to weep around their bier seldom contemplate their eternal fate in the gloom of their own creeds. They find it more convenient and more comforting to repudiate their own belief and employ for the occasion the Universalist theory of God and the future life.

Perhaps, indeed, they may not call these broader views that administer to their spiritual needs by this particular name. Yet on examination, we believe they will discover that the hopes which they secretly indulge concerning the final welfare of their dear but impenitent friends bear a striking resemblance to those expressed in the Universalist interpretation of God and his government,—God's kindly care and watchful providence over his children in all worlds, hope for the sinful beyond this mortal sphere, infinite and forgiving mercy confined to no boundaries of time or sense; an immortal life where falls no shadow and drops no tear,—such views the world has been in the habit of calling Universalism. They are certainly

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not orthodox in any form. And they are views that furnish the only key to the dark problem of life and death, the only sure basis of trust and consolation in all the emergencies and needs of the soul.

It is the boast of our evangelical friends that if their doctrines fail, Universalism will take them up. We fervently rejoice that such is practically the situation. We hardly know what would become of them, especially the mourner, if it did not accomplish this beneficent service. But this statement that is intended as a slur, is in reality the highest encomium that could be paid to our principles. We are glad that Universalism does take them up, that it puts its broad and generous arms about them in their sorrows and lifts them into the regions of peace and light, that it is in fact a religion of sweeter hopes, brighter prospects, and a more catholic fellowship, than their own system. But then we think it decidedly unfair and cool in them to be paddling round in their narrow, leaky craft in pleasant weather, when the sun shines and the sea is smooth, but when the skies grow dark and the tempest roars, to climb into our stately and capacious ironclad for protection and safety. And what is worse, adding insult to ingratitude, by claiming all the while that their defective ship is far superior in point of safety and accommodations.

If a neighbor of mine has built a cistern so small and shallow that when the ground is parched and the heavens are as brass over his head it contains no water, and therefore, he comes to draw and satisfy his thirst from a fountain of mine which is supplied from perpetual springs far up among the mountains, I should consider him not only very ungrateful if he made no acknowledgement for the privilege he enjoyed, but exceedingly impertinent if he did not immediately abandon his useless water system and lay pipes to perennial fountains from which he would find sufficient to satisfy all his wants. But to know that this same person proclaims the utility and excellence of his own shallow water supply, and yet in cases of extreme necessity, is stealthily drawing from my copious fountain, requires a remarkable stretch of patience and charity to reconcile

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such a practice with the highest principles of honor and fair-dealing. And yet this is precisely the method that many pursue in spiritual matters. They build theological cisterns, accept theories of religion, God, destiny, as a source for meeting their moral needs. But there come seasons in life when such sources fail. They are found in great emergencies to be but broken cisterns that hold no water. But, then, what if these cisterns should fail, there is their neighbor's well over the way which is never dry, because supplied by exhaustless streams that flow fast by the throne of God,—to that they can go when the soul is parched with thirst, and drinking find refreshment and strength. If such a practice does not reach the climax of cool audacity and unblushing dishonesty then are we ignorant of definitions, amenities and morals.

No truth is more capable of demonstration than that the doctrine of endless punishment with all its various adjuncts, contingencies, and conditions is especially destitute of the spirit of consolation. It hardly furnishes a sure pledge of the eternal safety of those who seriously believe it. The most faithful and pious who have sat under its ministrations through long years often pass away with feeble hope of acceptance with God on the ground of either faith or works. Painful doubts and misgivings concerning their perfect sanctification and adequate preparation linger in their minds, making life a "cruel bitter" and death an awful leap in the dark. And what is worse, the stronger one's faith in such a theology the less assurance will he feel of his own salvation or that of his friends. "If I am not mistaken, if I am not deceived, I think I have a hope," was the death-bed confession of a pious old lady, who for more than a half of a century had been an exemplary member of an Orthodox church. This was all the staff and comfort upon which she leaned as as she passed down the valley of shadows.

But the inadequateness of this doctrine as a ground of trust and hope at the burial scene, or when memory recalls the loss of the dearest earthly treasures, is notably evident. The declaration so frequently made, that "we are all Universalists at funerals," contains a volume of sublime meaning, and affords

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an emphatic corroboration of our foregoing statements. And while it is a fatal and humiliating admission of the inefficiency of evangelical theology as a means of consolation, it clearly accords to Universalism the eminent distinction of furnishing a faith adapted to meet the most pressing needs of mortal beings. It places a laurel crown on the brow of this larger hope that will grow more green and beautiful as it is seen and the ages roll on. It is the merited tribute paid to its superior value as a system of belief, fitted to lift the grief burdened soul into the sunlight of trust and peace. It would certainly seem after such a confession, that another word would hardly be needed, to convince our candid orthodox friends of the inherent defectiveness of their own creed in this important element, and to strengthen the suspicion that it bore little affinity to that Gospel which is said to bind up the broken hearted and to comfort those who mourn. The best test of any theory is its practical operation. A failure in its application to human interests and needs affords tolerably sure evidence of its anti-Christian character. And when to the thousand incontestible evidences of failure, as in this instance, we add the self abasing confession of its advocates, the question is practically settled.

Moreover, this damaging acknowledgement also includes the implication of guilt to the charge of religious dishonesty. What right, indeed, has a believer in eternal misery with the doctrines of Universalism at "funerals" at all, or anywhere else? He belongs to another sect. He professes to believe in directly opposite sentiments; gives his money, talents, time, to the promulgation of those sentiments to the injury of the cause of Universalism. Let him then reap where he sows, sit at his own table, seek shelter from the storm in his own house. Let him also take without flinching all the logical results of his religious opinions, apply to his heart all their painful uncertainties and fearful suggestions Let him go and stand upon the verge of the dark and burning gulf itself, and look down as far as sight can pierce into its unfathomable depths, and behold there his own children, kindred, companions, those who have been a part of his own life in this world and whose memory

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still sheds a sweetness and beauty on the path he travels. This is the picture that his belief projects upon the unseen future. And no sincere believer in evangelical theology is honestly entitled to any other.

One of the greatest obstacles that exists today to the spread of organized Universalism is this piracy of doctrine, this theological filibusterism, that with false flag and cowardly aspect invades the rights and territory of another. Seldom will men assume the cares and responsibilities of the direct ownership of property, when they can, as their needs require, enjoy all the advantages that accrue to the owner himself. Seldom will they remove their tents from the mountain shadow or the barren plain, which long custom has made sacred to their thoughts, when they can leisurely poach in the glad sunshine of their neighbor's fertile fields. The frightful nakedness of their own granaries will give them no anxiety so long as they can, without any scruple, reach over and take the oil and wine of God's truth from the bountiful table of the Gospel of infinite grace and love. It is not so much the want of light to-day that prevents a mighty upheaval in the religious world, as the sad lack of the practice of those stern principles of honorable dealing and the old fashioned virtues of honesty and justice in the treatment of the most solemn questions that concern humanity.

Varnum Lincoln.

Article XVII.

The Temperament and the True Life.

Frank as we are to admit the influence upon us of age and temperament, we are too prone to forget it all when we pass our criticisms upon our fellows. It shall be the purpose of this paper to point out some of the main characteristics of the various temperaments. We have had enough of the myth of the Fall, rich as it is in symbolic meaning. Let us proceed to

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a careful study of some of the main characteristics of human nature as it actually is. In this study we shall not find it wholly good, much less shall we find it wholly bad. Indeed, the goodness and badness may for a moment drop out of our discussion entirely, while we study some of our most prominent human characteristics.

One of the most marked distinctions between man and the brute consists in the fact that whereas among brutes conformity to type is regarded as a perfection, among men the exact opposite result is desired. In other words, natural selection confines itself to the brain, developing in each man that individuality which imparts to each man's faculties a characteristic tone and color different from that of any other man's. Each man is by nature endowed with an ideal of perfection which he alone and no other can realize. He feels that in a special sense the responsibility for the ideal is placed with him as an individual and a person, and not with the race;

> "So mindful of the type is she,
> So careless of the single life."

I wish to speak of human nature as divided into temperaments or bents for certain kinds of activity and certain forms of external stimulus. While we all know there is great truth in the rather trite remark that human nature is the same the world over, we know that there is a very real sense in which this is not true. All the activities of one man are rapid and graceful, those of another are slow and powerful. One mind is logical, another practical. The matter-of-factism of one man, and his utter lack of all power of imagination, compels him to tell the truth, though he would fain do otherwise. The vivid, creative, picturing power of another man renders him very unsafe as a historian or a teller of true stories, though he is himself in blissful ignorance of his untruthfulness. All these praticulars are laid ultimately at the door of *temperament*, and it is evident then that in our study of human nature we ought to begin, not with the fall, but with the individual temperaments and characteristics of the men we would study.

In this treatment it is our purpose to study first that temper-

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ament which characterizes early childhood, then that of youth, of the prime of life, and of old age. This treatment of human nature is by no means a new or strange one. It is the natural method. The one that men spontaneously incline to adopt when they are free from the trammels of an ancient prejudice. Aristotle, who knew nothing of the idea of an Adamic perfection and a consequent fall, in his study of man devotes three chapters to a study of the habits, passions and ways of thought of men at different periods of their lives. Of course there are difficulties in the way of such a treatment as this. There is no definite line fixed where youth ceases and middle age begins. And furthermore, personal peculiarities and inherited habits and tendencies make wide differences between one child and another, one man and another. But still there are certain general characteristics that we may be safe in calling attention to, and a careful study of which will help us in our further discussion.

Childhood and youth are characterized by sprightliness, freedom from care, and playfulness. They are mischievous. If their actions are wanton and wayward, it is mischief, not malice, that is the motive. They are easily grieved and quickly repentant, because their errors do not proceed from wilful wrong or fixed principles of action, but from the free, impulsive desire of the moment. They are social and trustful, because their confidence in men has never been shaken. Their overflowing life impels them to companionships that are formed from personal affinity rather than from laws of social equality and expediency. Hence there is a gush and a sweetness to their friendships and their loves that only the poet can fitly describe. Youth and childhood are fitful and passionate. Their desires are strong and imperious in their demands, and a proper surveillance over them has not yet been found either possible or necessary. They are subject to moods, impatient of restraint, and fastidious in their likes and dislikes. Impulse rather than reason is the motive of their actions. Anger and pride influence them more than thought or sentiment. Ambition leads them to rashness as often as to permanent gain. They usually are hopeful and joyous, because they have

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had no experiences in the results of error and wickedness. They have unbounded hope in the future, because they have never known defeat. They are susceptible to every impression. Every inlet of the soul is open, and accosts each passer-by with a kindly "come in." The new and the strange appeal to them very strongly, and are usually met with more or less of gushing praise or shivering rebuke.

The exact reverse of this temperament is found in old age. Passion has lost its power, impulse is no longer a strong motive, but has given way to reason. Calculation has introduced evenness and regularity into life. The new and the strange no longer have charms. Experience has been too full of deceptions and disaster originating from that source. There is a distrust of men and theories on the same grounds. Experience has taught them caution. The hard unqualified statements of youth and enthusiasm are now qualified with a "possibly so," or a "perhaps so." And a certain despondency broods over the once hopeful brow. Hope has given place to memory. The golden age that was once ahead is now in the past, "when I was a boy," or "when I was a young man." There is a certain gentleness attendant upon honored old age that comes from lessons of experience well learned. The uselessness of retaliation and bitter thoughts is more clearly perceived than at an earlier age. Disappointment and deception have tended to increase their sympathy with despair and suffering.

The golden mean between these two temperaments is that of middle life. It does not live in the future with the youth nor in the past with the old man, but hope, aspiration and ambition all culminate in the living present. Sprightliness and impulse have been balanced by moderation, mental poise and widened experience. Passion has not flown, indeed it is at its height, but it has been transformed, reason has built it anew, or turned it into other channels, and made it serve other and less capricious and transient ends. The sense of honor in the youth and of policy and fitness in the aged co-operate. The conservative and radical tendencies are blended. The extremes of new and old are neither scouted nor invariably adopted pell-mell.

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Middle age is the age of action, of execution, of achievement. It has ceased to dream of an unreal future, it has not yet learned to brood over a golden past. The present is large enough; the desire for power and wealth are at their height. The diffidence, indecision and recklessness of youth have departed, the weakness and second childishness of old age have not yet arrived. It is the age of vigor, of push and of accuracy.

Now a moment's thought will fill with meaning the suggestion that some people are always children. They never get beyond the peculiar characteristics which I have spoken of as childish. Others are always youthful in habits, actions and ways of thought. While a still smaller class are from childhood up old men and women in everything. They seem to have an experience and a careful, thoughtful, deliberate way far beyond their years. And these differences are explained as temperaments. According to an old classification, there are four temperaments, the sanguine, sentimental or melancholic, choleric and phlegmatic. This classification is partially arbitrary and partially rational. But it is the best classification we have, and it will be sufficient for our present study. We will treat these temperaments in the order enumerated above.

Usually we regard with pity and disgust that person who at every little excitement goes into ecstasies and leaps about with delight. We regard as morbid weakness of nerve the tendency to go into convulsions or hysterics over every disturbance of the usual even flow of organic feeling. We seem to hold instinctively to the idea that every little excitation in one portion of the body ought not to set the whole frame on nettles. It is morbid nervousness and sensitiveness, and ought to be overcomé. So we argue. But the question arises whether this is not exactly the temperament we ought to find in early childhood. As yet the child has no experience, no knowledge, and but very imperfect power to interpret his sensations. If the cold, deliberate, unmoved, sifting tendency of age were used the child would make little or no progress, would never know anything, in fact. The very possibility of mental and bodily de-

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velopment depends upon this extreme sensitiveness to every impression. The child passes easily and without jar from one mood or thought to another, and we expect this in childhood, and it is right we should, for the child spends his early years in learning how to know. It tries every mood, and is open to every impression. Children of this temperament develop rapidly, and if the liveliness and caprice do not last too long they are healthful signs. But when this temperament continues, we have the life of a savage or a brute subject to the animal passions, or we have a nation like the Chinese, which by their simple ways have caused themselves to be designated in history as a nation of children.

While, therefore, this temperament helps the child to pass rapidly from one thing to another, and thus to vary and broaden his experience with ease, while it prevents his settling down to narrow notions and conclusions hastily drawn, which so often hamper the life of the adult, it also has its drawbacks. It prevents the fixing permanently in mind of past impressions, and renders the lessons of experience of too little weight. It is well that in children feelings should be easily aroused and easily forgotten. Laughter follows tears in quick succession. Sorrow and feelings of revenge are easily calmed. But this changefulness so natural and beautiful in childhood, is a sign of impotency and weakness in middle life. Reason must come in and choose from an infinite number of possibilities a certain definite course of action. A thousand early hopes that once received great attention must be denied. But the one narrow calling earnestly and faithfully pursued develops countless, varied and wonderful results, branching out into many fields, which at the outset were wholly unseen, and they come to the temper of middle life as constant and delightful surprises. It is seen that success is after all the multiplication and variation of a very few laws, that are operative everywhere. Reason supplies the pleasures of the moods of childhood. The world of sense that was so free and open has been closed, but the freedom of reason has restored to the grown man the breadth and versatility of youth fourfold.

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To correct the faults of the child temperament without in any way impairing its virtues is the work of youth. The mind ought to retain its receptivity to impressions, but it ought also to learn to discriminate, and to choose well between those that have only a transient value and those that are enduring. One series of impressions yields only pleasure, another class yields both pleasure in the present and conduces to further well being in a distant future. The gradual shift from a life of mere feeling to one of emotion characterizes the sentimental or melancholic temperament. Sentimental is a better term than melancholic, for this is the temperament of emotions, whether joyous or sad. Children do not choose which sensations they will attend to, to the exclusion of a dozen others that are knocking for admittance, but they turn automatically toward the stronger. The brighter light, the louder noise, the larger red apple, attracts the child. But with the youth this is not so much so. The sentimental temperament turns towards that impression which has the greatest emotional worth. It is not the strongest sensation that attracts as in the child, nor the one that has the highest intellectual value as in the grown man, but the one that arouses the feelings, stirs the imagination and coos to the sentiments. The sentimental temperament of youth delights in loves, in reveries, in impracticable schemes. The imagination makes its world. There is a keen appreciation of harmony, rhythm and works of art, and little inclination for hard work. It is a temperament of supreme satisfaction with oneself, and one's own creations. Far higher in the scale than the flitting and brilliant sense impressions of childhood are the gushing emotions of the youth caused by his own day dreams,—by the very delights of the awakening intellect in its own operations. The outgoings and incomings of his own mental states arouse in the youth the keenest self-satisfaction.

So fully is this temperament occupied with itself that it often delights to magnify the discords and sorrows of life that by contrast it may better appreciate its joys. It tires of the ennui of its own states and introduces discord into their harmony purposely. Thus the temperament of youth is an instructive preparation for the busy world of real life wherein

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"Joy is sorrow's brother,

where

"Grief and gladness steal
Symbols of each other."

The joys seem to grow in value when contrasted with the sorrow and grief, and ennui is naturally banished. Some one has said the Christian has transferred all the sorrows of the world to hell, and there is nothing left for his heaven but ennui. The temperament of youth dwelling apart within itself in an ideal heaven, unruffled by an outside world, is not open to such a charge. It is for this reason that "sensitive souls love the gentle melancholy which is spread like a grey background behind the rainbow glory of isolated moments of delight, and the old view was not altogether wrong in giving to the sentimental temperament the designation of melancholy."

The defects of this temper are many. The sense of duty is easily merged so deeply in feeling as to be wholly neglected or morbidly active. Indeed, it is the temperament of poetry, music and art, and other such pursuits wherein the mind is at play, and as such this temperament acknowledges no obligation to serious work. In science and art this temperament has often led men astray, as in Goethe's effort to overthrow Newton's theory of the seven colors, by means of an emotional and æsthetic theory of his own. So sanguine was Goethe in his efforts that Hegel and Schopenhauer, the greatest philosopher and the greatest fool of the age, were led to adopt his views. The Japanese are a nation of youths. Their scenery is beautiful, not grand, their literature beautiful rather than profound or sublime, their emotions rather than their reason form the basis of action. It is a temperament of many virtues, but also of many limitations. It is quick to absorb, apt to learn, but slow to invent and discover. What is great in life and science has always been the result of concentrated energy, which has been able to deny the influence of the many transient pleasures that flit past, and press onward eagerly towards its own goal, unmoved alike by emotion from within or charm from without.

The temperament that thus onward plods its steady way, is

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the temperament of middle life, and is commonly known as the choleric. We desire to see it in manhood as the natural successor to the sentimental temperament of youth.

This is the temperament of the normal man at his prime. There is no such susceptibility to excitement as we find in the child or youth. Acting and thinking are slower, more deliberate and more accurate. The child thinks no more of a mistake than it does of a fall, but is easily up and about its play, laughing and buoyant as though nothing had happened. But the man is deeply moved by his mistakes, they humiliate him and point out a weakness in him whose pride is power. The feelings are not easily aroused, but when once aroused they move with great power. Anger, which in a child is a pet soon over, is a deep-set passion, with reason enlisted in its favor, and a distant but sure revenge surely planned. Here as elsewhere it will not be lured from its purpose by irrelevant attractions or womanish entreaties. Repentance is hard, and of seldom occurrence because by it a man declares the impotency and error of his previous life, wherein lies his pride. If a man has no honor and no intellectual power, this temperament once enraged will stoop to every meanness to carry out its base desires. If the desires are not base and the intellect is poor the individual will be just stubborn, and literally "as stubborn as a mule."

This is the temperament which when fully equipped mentally and with noble purposes in the heart, accomplishes full three-fourths of all the worthy work in the world. The power of endurance, the persistence of effort in everything undertaken, the stolidity with which the transient and fickle are banished, the absence of cant and revenge render this the preeminently practical temperament. It has definite ends in view, clearly pictured in the imagination, and no mock modesty or sensitiveness are present to deter it from the employment of irksome or indifferent means for securing the desired goal.

Those men who attain a full, free and healthy old age are few. But what is more lovely, what is more perfect than a nice old man or old woman? Those students of human nature

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are not wanting who regard the phlegmatic temperament as not only the normal temperament of advanced age but also as a manifest improvement on the temperament of middle life, with its inexorable ambitions and their consequent narrowness and prejudice. At the suggestion of old age we naturally think of mental and spiritual lethargy, of a temper that is neither moved by excitements and passions nor able to receive any pleasure from their satisfaction. But such a conclusion is hastily drawn. The full and well equipped mind possesses this calm and perfect equipoise as naturally as an empty pate. Indeed, it is here that we ought to expect it. While the mind not yet furnished, not yet having attained the balance of power between imperious passions and appetites on the one hand and the wooings of the soul's ideals on the other, must still be engaged in the internecine conflict where itself is the enemy on the one side, the allied forces on the other, and the bloody battle field that is rent by the strife. To a soul fighting out the battles of its own being and shedding its own life blood in the conflict the phlegmatic temperament is impossible. But if this perfect equipoise comes after such a war of burning, passionate loves and lofty ideals, and debasing desires finally vanquished, it is well.

> "Though passion may fly,
> Yet love must remain:
> Though the flower may die,
> Yet the fruit scents the plain."

But the life that *begins* with this temperament so fitting to advanced age is deplorable indeed. It is drowsy, ambitionless and useless. There is not passion enough to fall in love, there is not appetite enough to care for wholesome and nourishing satisfaction,—there is not life enough to do the necessary planning of an ant or squirrel.

The thoughts of healthy old age are not necessarily sluggish because the body is. It is in advanced life that great men have often done their greatest and best work. It is men of the phlegmatic temperament who die in the harness. A book that has appeared within a few years and has attained considerable popularity, contains in its preface the statement that

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the author was in advanced years when he wrote his book. He had been a professor, but was now too old to toil longer in that capacity. He had written his book to occupy his mind, keep his faculties from slipping away, and his heart from growing sour and bitter. It was a work of love, beautiful and inspiring from preface to *finis*. "The absence of foolish outbursts of emotion and the omission of useless and extravagant expressions of feeling are not due to coldness of heart or sluggishness of thought." Such emotional outbursts are a surer sign of superficiality, vacuity of mind, and lack of real warm appreciation and lasting attachment.

"Still waters flow deep," and often we see proofs of this in the operations of men or nations where the phlegmatic temperament prevails. The lesser impressions are not heeded, but neither are they lost, they are carefully stored up in the memory and at last they burst upon the world with all the fury of a tempest. The history of such a phlegmatic people as the Germans affords many illustrations of this statement "writ large," while the French on the other hand is the temperament of sentiment, impulse and gush. No one can predict their actions an hour ahead, while the German temper flows as evenly as a sluggish river, but deep as old Ocean himself. It is a criticism often passed, but very unjust, withal, "which attributes the immovability and incapacity of mere stupidity to that solidness of mental life which is hardly affected by individual passing impressions, but slowly stores them up until the time arrives for some supreme effort." And if that time never arrives, the phlegmatic temperament is not haunted by mental unrest and an overweening desire to find some opportunity to vent its emotion.

How perfect is the peace of old age! It is not immoderately excited at anything, because nothing is to it wholly new or strange. It does not go crazy over any passion, because they have all been tried and every passionate impulse has been assigned its true place in the great chain of human causes and interests. All rash, unwise and personal ambitions are crushed because experience has taught that the wheel of fortune is too

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large and our own strength too small to allow of our winning but a small place upon its surface, enough for our name perhaps, and "a name is enough for memory," if the name we leave behind is a good one, unsullied by selfish ambition or personal avariciousness.

This is the temper we love to see in old age, but it is all too seldom that we do see it; far more frequent are the old men with the temperaments of little children, or of youth, or with the selfish ambitions of life's prime, when there *should be* the gentle calm of life's untroubled sea.

But on the other hand some few noble souls have all through life this fine balance of mental temper. They receive with pure-hearted and ever fresh interest opinions and discoveries of every degree of utility or importance. They are not unmoved by any class of feelings that are wholesome. They enjoy the toys with their children, the loves of their young men and maidens, and the lofty schemes and ambitions of the men in their prime. But open as they are to all, they are not led away into narrowness by any. With never flinching effort and unchanging aim they press steadily onward through life towards the accomplishment of a cherished ideal, but still without that unsympathetic harshness which refuses to all other ideals their true importance and vital inter-relations, and without that contempt for other pursuits which hampers the man who knows only his own. Such a broad sympathy and active interest in all worthy effort was a prominent characteristic of the late Dr. James Freeman Clarke of Boston; it is not however, of the great names of history that we are thinking now, but of those gentle, sweet and blessed natures that pass noiselessly through life, seeming as it were the very embodiment of our ideal. Head and heart are exactly balanced. Ideal and ambition have ceased to conflict. The storm and stress of life have given place to a glorious victory for all that is noble and pure in childhood, in youth, in middle life and in old age. Theirs is a harvest of the ages well garnered. We cannot make our temperaments. We cannot wholly free ourselves from our native dispositions. But as we have seen in each of these

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temperaments there is a good and bad extreme. And we may by careful effort and steady habits effectively choose the good.

We promised to say nothing of good and bad. We have sedulously refrained from doing so until now. But at this time it is well perhaps to call attention to the fact that good and bad have been present during the whole discussion, as the normal and abnormal, the healthy and morbid.

A. B. Curtis.

Article XVIII.

On Some Early Documents in British History.

Part I.—Relating to English History.

Whoever has given a critical examination of original histories relating to the early English people is struck, not only with the paucity of the documents, but also with their comparative unreliability. The Roman epoch, in British history, presents an intelligent comprehension of the people. The Saxon advent is shrouded in mystery and uncertainty. For nearly five hundred years English history consists of an age of fable, which is only broken by the writings of the venerable Bede, which cast a ray of intelligence across that terrible period.

Modern histories, written for the popular eye, fail to present the slender facts upon which their statements rest. But these works are mere compilations,—one author copying directly the errors of his predecessors, without a careful or unbiased investigation into the authenticity of the documents, which had been previously relied upon. Proceeding no farther back than Henry's "History of Great Britain," published in 1788, it will be seen that no suspicion ever crossed his mind relative to the authenticity of original documents relating to the Saxon period. Even the present generation has witnessed the publication of an English history which, apparently is utterly oblivious to the

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progress which has been made in the critical analysis of these ancient writings. In Green's "Larger History of the English People," nine sections or paragraphs are devoted to the authorities consulted in compiling the first book, or the period from A. D. 449 to 1071. The first section declares the Epistola of Gildas to be a book "of great value in the light it throws on the state of the island at that time, and as giving at its close what is probably the native story of the conquest of Kent. This is the only part of the struggle of which we have any record from the side of the conquered. The English conquerors, on the other hand, have left jottings of their conquest of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex in the curious annals which form the opening of the compilation now known as the 'English' or 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' which are undoubtedly historic, though with a slight mythical intermixture." A fragment of the annals of Northumbria, "which bears the name of Nennuis, alone throws light on the conquest of the North." In section five it is declared that Asser's "Life of Alfred" "is probably really Asser's work, and certainly of contemporary authority," and Ethelwerd's chronicle "adds a little to our knowledge of this time." Section six says Florence of Worcester "is probably the translation of a valuable copy of the 'chronicle' which has disappeared." The various sections also speak approvingly of other writings.

The impression conveyed in this and other modern histories is that these early docnments are authorities, and upon them the essentials of early English history rest. It is admitted that the early annals of Britain are necessarily of importance in tracing out history, and their proper study cannot be too highly estimated. How far these early chronicles can be trusted is a question which must be decided on the respective merits of each.

The first and oldest of these books referred to is that of Gildas, claimed to have been written about the year 546, which has been translated and often printed. The best known editions are those of Stevenson in 1834, and Dr. Giles in 1848. It consists mostly of violent invectives not only directed against

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the continental invaders, but also against his own countrymen. Stevenson, in the preface to his edition of the original Gildas, says; "We are unable to speak with certainty as to his parentage, his country, or even name, the period when he lived, or the works of which he was the author." To this Dr. Giles makes the following observation: "Such a statement is surely sufficient to excuse us at present from saying more on the subject." Gibbon[1] speaks very disparagingly of Gildas, while Dr. Nicholas[2] has most conclusively shown that no reliability can be placed on his work. A careful study of the book demonstrates that it exhibits but an indistinct acquaintance with the events which took place towards the close of the Roman domination; the author declares (Sec. 4), "I shall not follow the writings and records of my own country, but be guided by the relations of foreign writers;" he contradicts contemporaneous Greek and Roman writers, which is evidenced by his statement relative to the Roman abandonment of the Island from the empire of Maximus and the subsequent erection of the Roman walls (given in paragraphs 13 and 14); Boadocea is called (Sec. 6) "that deceitful lioness," although history has proved she had all the attributes of true nobility and heroism; the Britons who fought under her are called "crafty foxes" who made their backs "shields against their vanquishers, and they presented their necks to their swords, whilst chill terror ran through every limb, and they stretched out their hands to be bound like women;" he never loses an opportunity of heaping epithets and disparagement upon his countrymen, even declaring, (Sec. 19) that they were "more eager to shroud their villainous faces in bushy hair than to cover with decent clothing those parts of the body which required it," &c. &c.; in section seven he gives a picture of Britain as a Roman province which belies history and all probability, notwithstanding the well-known fact that it was a favorite province, the abode of many emperors, a rich mine of wealth, and a field of renown to some of Rome's ablest generals. During the early part of

[1] Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chap. xxxviii. Vol. III., p. 619

[2] Pedigree of English People, pp. 252, 258.

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the fifth century the Greek and Roman writers ceased to notice the affairs of Britain. From that period the narrative rests solely on the authority of Gildas, which in later years was adopted by Bede and succeeding writers. These and other considerations can well excuse the indignant words of Nicholas[3], "It is time to have done with Gildas. It is clear that, allowing he was a real person, and wrote his history at the time commonly supposed, his statements in all matters pertaining to the Britons, are wholly unworthy of credence. He pursues them with an animosity that is never satiated, and belies all authentic history in branding them with the character of timidity, cowardice, and tame submissiveness when their country was being torn from them by strangers. It is impossible to dignify such a chronicler by the name of historian, and it is utterly impossible to receive his statements as anything else than the splenetic exaggerations of an ill-informed, and prejudiced monk."

Following Gildas is that of Nennuis, thirty-three MSS. of which still exist, divided into five classes; first, the Harleian MS. of the tenth century, the text of which formed Stevenson's edition of 1838; the second, the Vatican MS., which was published by Gunn in 1819; the third, later MSS. with marginal additions; the fourth, a class of MSS. in which the marginal additions are incorporated into the text; and fifth, the Irish translations. The date of the original is given by some at A. D. 796, and by others at 994, or a difference of two hundred years. The Vatican MS. gives it at 946; the Harleian at 796; and some of the MSS. of the third class at 879. [4]Skene, one of the most laborious of historians, admits the work is not only one of traditions, but also contains interpolations and additions. The Vatican MS. was probably compiled by Mark, the Hermit, who gathered the tracts, written at different periods, by various hands, but connected only by the fact that they relate to some historical event connected with the British Isles. How far these prior tracts are reliable, must largely be left to con-

[3] Ibid, p. 258.

[4] Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 24.

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jecture. It is also a difficult task to eject the interpolations. There appears to have been an original basis for the work. This may have been the work of a man by the name of Nennuis, whose original work terminated with the kingdom of Northumbria in 547.

During the obscure period of English history the name best known is that of Bede, upon whom the epithet of "The Venerable" has been bestowed. Bede was born in 673; at the age of thirty, became a monk, and died in 735. He is best known on account of his "Ecclesiastical History," which he brought to a close in his fifty-ninth year. Numerous editions of this history have been published. That this history is of great value is unquestionable. But how far may it be trusted?

In the literary history of the "Treatise of Marianus," by Pislorius, as given by Bishop Nicolson, it is shown, concerning ancient books, that passage after passage was added by transcribers, until it became impossible to distinguish the genuine from the fraudulent. It was not unusual with early British writers to take the works of their predecessors, add to them what they desired, or else abridge them, and give their own names as the authors.

Bede's history has been subjected to the same stuffing process. The internal evidence leads to the supposition that all the passages relating to the Saxons should be expunged. It is probable that he only knew of the Saxons as a nation to be abhorred and shunned. His work purports to be a church history; but in the form now preserved, it is also a secular history. As the book stands it shows obvious anachronisms, which, to a man of his learning, must have been readily detected. He declares (chap. i.) that in his day there were only five nations, the English, Britons, Scots, Picts and Romans. In Book II., chapter ii., it is evident that by Britons he clearly refers to the Welsh. Having stated there were five languages, which pertained to the five nations, it is affirmed (Book V. chapter ix.) that the English are derived from many nations, six of which are named. Angles, Saxons and English are used as convertible terms. It is hardly creditable to believe that Bede

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could have confounded the Angles with the Saxons. Bede farther speaks with affection of the English or Angles, and mentions the Saxons with loathing, declaring that to join hands with them involved infamy and disgrace in the eyes of posterity (*Op. Hist.* xiv., 33). It also does great injustice to Bede, living so near the date, to cause him to make such gross mistakes in his history relative to the Saxon entrance into Britain. In regard to the ancient home of the Angles, he is made to contradict both Tacitus and Ptolemy. As regards the date of the Saxon advent into England he is made to contradict the "Notitia retriusque Imperii," Eutropius, Prosperd Tyro, who wrote, A. D. 441, and all the early writers who have written concerning the Saxons. More than this: he is even made to contradict himself; for after stating the Hengist and Horsa legend, he refers to the Saxons fighting the English, twenty years earlier. Bede is made to say that all the kings of all the Saxon-English nations were of the same blood, when it is well known that the Saxons chose their leaders by lot, and the choice lay between numberless heads of families. The pedigrees were evidently palmed off upon Bede during a more recent age. If Bede's history is read in the light it claims to be —an ecclesiastical one—it is of great value. Otherwise it is calculated to mislead.

William of Malmesbury, writing about the year 1125 affirms that the death of Bede was fatal to learning in England; for he says, "There was not so much as one Englishman left behind Bede, who emulated the glory which he had acquired by his studies, imitated his example, or pursued the path to knowledge which he had pointed out. A few, indeed, of his successors were good men, and not unlearned, but they generally spent their lives in an inglorious silence; while the far greater number sunk into sloth and ignorance, until by degrees the love of learning was quite extinguished in this island for a long time." From the death of Bede to the Norman conquest, if Asser's "Life of Alfred" and the "Saxon Chronicle" be put aside there are no literary remains worthy of notice. As to the value of the above mentioned documents particular attention should be given.

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Asser's "Life of Alfred the Great" was first published by Archbishop Parker, in 1574, and appears in Dr. Giles' "Six Old English Chronicles," published in 1848. The chronicle purports to have been written by a contemporary of Alfred, John Asser, bishop of St. David's. Dr. Lingard admits that the reputation of Alfred rests upon the authority of Asser; and yet this document is not mentioned by Matthew of Westminster; Ingulphus, author of the "Life of St. Neots;" Simon Durrel; William of Malmesbury; Roger de Hoveden; Henry of Huntingdon; John Harding; Grafton; Tabian, and others upon whom we are to depend for authority; and the only mention is made by Florence of Worcester. It seems a little singular that this life of the Saxon monarch was never copied by any monastery, and left wholly to depend on a single manuscript. It has even been questioned whether or not there ever was such a bishop of St. David's. The "Saxon Chronicle" gives his death at 910; but Roger of Wendover and Florence of Worcester give it at 883; which is in conflict with the chronicle itself, for it declares that he became acquainted with Alfred in 885. The date of his death given in 910, must certainly be an error, for Werslon became bishop in 905, and the see then had been vacant for seven years, and Sigelmous became bishop in 883. The chronicle itself bears internal evidence of being a forgery. Instances may be cited in the references to the "Life of St. Neots" who was not translated until nearly a century after Asser's death; the history goes down to the forty-fifth year of Alfred, and there is not a similar instance to be found at so early a period of any man's life being written whilst yet living.

It is deserving of notice that there is a singular coincidence between the chronicles and that of Florence of Worcester, the latter of which is regarded with strong suspicion even by those who seek to maintain the authenticity of Asser. In the translation [5]given by Forester, it is positively declared that Florence's Chronicle" is formulated on that compiled by Marianus Scotus. In a foot-note Forester says, "Florence copied Asser

[5] See Bohn's Antiquarian Library. Florence of Worcester, Preface.

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so literally that he has twice adopted expressions employed by the former." Scotus entered the Irish monastary of St. Martin at Cologne, about the year 1056, and died a recluse at Mentz about 1083. It is probable that every monastery kept a chronicle. Ordericus Vitalis saw that of Worcester about the year 1120, and calls it the work of John of Worcester, formulated upon a chronicle of Marianus Scotus. This chronicle is not found at Worcester, but a century later turned up at Bury, St. Edmunds, where it was continued by John de Taxted. In this occurs whole passages from Asser, with all the circumstances that both proceeded from the same pen. It is also singular that as Asser is unrecognized by succeeding writers save Florence of Worcester, so also none of the contemporaries of the latter make use of any of his facts. The great authority of that age, William of Malmesbury, utterly ignores him. Every evidence points to the inevitable conclusion that the same pen which wrote the chronicle of Alfred, also wrote that of Florence of Worcester.

It is probable that Alfred did encourage learning; but to what extent must ever remain a problem. The Saxons had no characters of their own, but borrowed from the Latin; for their only known author, Ethelward, wrote in the Latin tongue. It is probable that Marianus Scotus caught the stories and legends he found floating among the monks, and reduced them to a system. How far these are to be trusted must remain a matter for conjecture. Living so near the period of Alfred, some reliance may be placed in the chronicle.

There are seven MSS. of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" in existence. One of these is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which ends with the year 1070. It is written in one hand down to the year 891. It contains many interpolations. The British Museum contains four copies. One terminates with the year 977, and is written in one hand. It is said to have belonged formerly to the monastary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The second ends with the year 1066, and is written in one hand to 890, when the orthography begins to vary. It contains many additions not found in the other MSS.

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The third terminates abruptly with the year 1080. It is mostly written in a plain and beautiful hand. Many defective parts are apparent from A. D. 261 to 693. The fourth and last of the British Museum MSS. ends imperfectly at 1058. On account of its monastic interpolations it is generally attributed to a monk of Christ's Church, Canterbury, being written in both Latin and Saxon. A MS. ending A. D. 1154, is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, written in the year 1122. From 1132 to the end the language and orthography became gradually Normanized. The Seventh, or Dublin MS., although not ancient, yet appears to have been taken from an older one, now lost. It ends with the year 1001. From dates by Lombard himself, it was begun by him in 1563 and finished the following year. This MS. was used by Archbishop Usher, and came into possession of Dublin library with others belonging to the Archbishop, according to his original intention.

There can be no question but that the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" is a compilation. Part of it is copied from Bede, and other parts from various sources. If it had been the continuous work of each age, it would display the improvements and gradations or corruptions of the Saxon tongue. But it presents an unbroken change, for throughout the language is the same, both in regard to its vocabulary and its inflections. After the middle of the eleventh century the copies differ considerably, when independent entries are made. But down to this period the identity of composition and similarity of matter are too apparent to allow any doubt that the copies were not made until this period, and that the record had been made up several years before the distribution of the transcriptions had been made. It is a singular fact that at about the time the chronicle was made up Marianus Scotus took his departure from England. Florence of Worcester, under the date 1028[6] says, "The same year was born Marianus, of Ireland, the celebrated Scot, by whose study and pains, this excellent chronicle was compiled from various books." Under the year 1056 he writes: "Marianus, becoming a pilgrim for the sake of his

[6] See *Bohn's edition*. p. 136.

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heavenly country, went to Cologne and took the habit of a monk in the monastery of St. Martin, belonging to the Scots." Marianus was the most scholarly man in England of his time, understanding both Latin and Saxon well, being also familiar with the traditions of the country. It is probable he found much history of the nation written in Latin, which he recast, and then produced it in Saxon.

As the forged annals of Asser are connected with St. Neots, and Peterborough, so famous during that period for literary forgeries, is near the monastery, the compilation or forgery of the "Anglo-Saxon chronicle" may be assigned to its region and one or more of its monks. There is no original MS. in existence, and what copies remain are not found in their proper places, but collected by Archbishop Parker and others, from very suspicious sources, and later by Cotton, long after the Reformation, when the trade in Saxon MS. was in a flourishing condition.

The chronicle of Ethelward was written about the year 1090. It is a very brief work, and ends abruptly with the year 959. It professes to give a summary of human affairs from the creation. It is simply a dry abstract, written in a few pages of affected, and in some places of almost unintelligible Latin. It forms the first number of Dr. Giles' "Six Old English Chronicles."

The paucity of documents, genuine or forged, from the Roman withdrawal to the Norman conquest is a sad commentary on the state of learning during that period and also on the influence for good of both the Saxon and the Dane. It would appear that the learning and energy displayed by The Venerable Bede would have given an impetus to letters. But there was the impinging of races with diverse characteristics, which commingling did not develop either into moral or intellectual attainment. Apparently the intermixture of blood, after the wars were over, destroyed that equipoise which is necessary to a healthy advancement. The Norman conquest not only gave a fresh supply of blood, but aroused the motives and restored that equilibrium which had been uppermost and made itself felt during the succeeding ages.

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The real history of the Saxon period may never be known. It is impossible to separate the pure grain from the chaff. Criticism may point out errors and unreliable statements, but to reconstruct what is left is a performance which has not yet been accomplished. Even if it be estimated that all the writings are authentic and have been preserved with zealous care, the history still must be unsatisfactory and disappointing.

J. P. MacLean.

Article XIX.

The Relations of the Brain and Mind.

What is the relation of the brain to mental activity? This is an important and vital question. To it two different answers are returned by different schools of thought. The one regards the brain as the original agent, the producing cause of thought, feeling, and action, or of intellect, emotion and will. This is the doctrine of materialism. The other regards the brain as the intermediate instrument of intelligence and volition. According to one theory the brain thinks as the stomach digests. According to the other the brain is the instrument of thought played upon by the mind as the piano is played upon by the musician. These two schools of thinkers may meet on common ground when they come to the facts of physiology; for the observed phenomena are the same whether the brain be regarded as the organ or the instrument of thought. But it makes a vast difference in the interpretation of mental phenomena which of these theories you adopt. The instrumental relation of brain to mind will explain all the observed facts of physiology, but the causal relation of brain to mind will not explain the observed facts of psychology. Of this large class of facts given us in conscious experience, embracing mental, moral and religious phenomena, the causal relation of brain to mind gives no rational explanation. It fails to account for all the facts.

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If the brain is the cause of mind, how is it that we find mind present and active in the absence of brain organism. The adjustments, adaptations and harmonies of the universe reveal mind without a brain? This proves that the brain is not the cause of mind; for the mind exists and works in nature without any such organ. But if the brain is the cause of mind, what is the cause of the brain? The structure of the brain reveals mind as its cause, and not as an effect of its action. It can not be its own cause. The instrumental relation of brain to mind is held as a common doctrine of physiology. It is the doctrine advocated by our most learned and conservative physiologists.

Dr. Carpenter says:

"The conscious life of every individual man essentially consists in action and reaction between his mind and all that is outside of it. But this action and reaction cannot take place in his present state of existence without the intervention of a material instrument whose function is to bridge over the hiatus between the individual consciousness and the external world. Although but few physiologists would be disposed to question that the brain is the instrument of our higher psychological powers."[1]

Says Dr. Winslow:

"The brain being the material instrument of the intelligence, the physical medium through which the mind manifests its varied powers, it is rational to infer that no change in its structure or investing membranes can take place without, to some extent, interfering with or modifying its physical functions."[2] "Cases, however, are on record in which serious injury had been done to the brain during life without apparently damaging the intelligence, and considerable incephalic disorganization as the result of disease, without any aberation, exaltation, depression or impairment of mind having been observed[3] previously to death."

Muller says:

"The action of the mind is dependent on the integrity of the fibrous structure and composition of the brain. Still this

[1] Carpenter's Mental Physiology, pp. 1, 2.

[2] Winslow on Brain and Mind, p. 32. [3] Ibid, p. 32.

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amounts to nothing more than that the brain is the instrument by which the mind operates and is active." [4]

Solly says:

"If there is one point in the physiology of the brain more unquestionably demonstrated than another it is that these ganglia are the instruments of the mind." [5]

Dr. Ray states:

"It can hardly be necessary, at the present time, to prove the fact of the dependence of the mind on the brain for its external manifestations—that, in short, the brain is the material organ of the intellectual and affective powers. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the nature of mind it is generally admitted, at least by all intelligent physiologists, that it must of necessity be put in connection with matter, and the brain is the part of the body by means of which this connection is effected." [6]

Dr. Combe says:

"We cannot reach the principle of mind to modify its qualities, or manner of being. We can reach it only as acting through the medium of and influenced by its material instrument." [7]

Dr. Paine, a profound and learned physiologist, holds:

"That the brain is especially subservient to the soul and the principle of instinct." [8]

These authorities drive materialism from physiology.

The brain co-operates with the mind and with the instinctive principle in acts of intellection, or the instinctive functions. "Although the soul be an immaterial and imperishable substance it is so associated with the brain that a healthy state of this organ is generally necessary to the ordinary function of the mind." [9] A diseased brain as the instrument of mind will cause deranged mental action. If the brain is the organ, or

[4] Muller's Physiology, p. 837,817.
[5] Solly on the Brain, p. 385.
[6] Medical Jurisprudence, p. 138.
[7] Combe on Insanity, p. 76.
[8] Paine on the Soul, Instinct and Life, p. 30.
[9] Paine's Institutes of Medicine, p. 362.

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the instrument of mind as almost everyone admits, then it is easy to see how the latter can have influence on the circulation. For as the mind cannot act without a due degree of vital energy imparted to the brain, it follows that this energy may be so largely applied to this organ as to leave insufficient stimulation to the other organs.[10] This shows how vital depression results from too great mental activity.

The brain is in some way not wholly understood, the organ, or the instrument of mind. In view of its wonderful structure and properties some have regarded it as almost the mind itself; but we have quite too many proofs on hand to admit of a doubt, that, though the mind acts through the medium of the brain, it has of itself an independent, and to some extent a separate existence.[11] Upon this subject Dr. Hatch thus expresses himself:

"The soul and the body are two substances distinct from each other but reciprocally united. The former acts in and upon the latter,—the soul acting upon the body and the body acting from the soul. The communication of motion by thought which we ascribe to the spirit is as evident as that of impulse which we ascribe to the body."[12]

The great physiologist of Germany, Blumenback, states: "That the mind is closely connected with the brain as the material condition of mental phenomena."[13] Here the brain is held to be associated with the mind, not as its cause, but as the material condition of its action. The brain does not cause, but conditions thought. It is the instrument of intelligence.

According to Magendie, a celebrated French physiologist, the brain is the material instrument of thought. This he holds is proved by a multitude of experiments and facts.[14] Experimental physiology has demonstrated the fact that the brain is not the efficient cause of thought, emotion and will, but only the material instrument of mental action.

[10] The Laws of Health, by W. A. Alcott, M. D., p. 214. [11] Ibid, p. 376.

[12] The Constitution of Man, by B. H. Hatch, M. D., p. 35.

[13] Elliotson's Translation of Blumenback's Physiology, 4th. Edition, p. 196.

[14] Magendie's Physiology, quoted in Combe's Phrenology, p. 30.

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Dr. Mason Good, speaking of intellect, sensation and muscular motion, says:

All these diversities of vital energy are well known to be dependent on the organ of the brain as the instrument of the intellectual powers." [15]

Here the brain is presented as the instrument of the will, through which voluntary muscular action takes place.

It is not only the instrument of the mind in thought and emotion, but also of the will in violition and action. Dr. Niel Arnott, in his elements of physics, writes thus:

The laws of mind which man can discover by reason are not laws of independent mind, but of mind in connection with body, and influenced by the bodily condition." [16]

We study the action and laws of mind from the side of consciousness, and also from the side of physiology.

Mental phenomena have psychological and physiological relations, as they arise from the mind when in living union with the brain. This being so, we should study man's mental life in the light of both philosophy and science. This method of study has given rise to the new science of physiological psychology. Such a science is demanded for the solution of the many complicated problems growing out of the relations of body and mind.

A mental organ is a mental instrument, by means of which the mind in this life manifests a particular power. [17] Mental organs are not concerned so much in the processes of thought as in the manifestations of thought. The power to think is revealed or made manifest to others, by the brain and nervous organism. It is the instrument by which we manifest thought. Certain affections of particular portions of the medulary substance, generally occupying some central situation, are in a way that is totally inexplicable connected with affections of the sentient and intelligent principle, a principle which we cannot

[15] Good's Study of Medicine, 2nd. Edit., Chap. 4, p. 34.

[16] Elements of Physics, by Niel Arnott.

[17] Combe's Phrenology, p. 70.

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any other wise conceive than as being distinct from matter; although we know it is capable of being affected by matter operating through the medium of this nervous substance, and that it is capable of reacting upon matter through the same medium.[18]

Although the corporeal or physical change taking place in the sensorum, and the mental affection we term sensation are linked together by some inscrutable bond of connection, they are in their nature as perfectly distinct as the subjects in which they occur; that is as mind is distinct from matter. Our sensations, though purely mental affections, are dependent upon the use of physical instruments, and are regulated by the physical laws of the living frame; whereas the perceptions derived from these sensations being the result of intellectual processes are subject to the laws that regulate the mental rather than the physical phenomena. It is certain from innumerable facts that in the present state of our existence, the operations of the mind are conducted by the instrumentality of bodily organs. As the eye and the ear are the instruments by which we see and hear, so the brain is the material instrument by which we think.

To assert that thought can be a property of matter is to extend the meaning of the term matter to that to which we cannot perceive it has any relation. All that we know of matter has regard to space; nothing that we know of the properties and affections of mind has any relation whatever to space. A similar incongruity is contained in the proposition that thought is the function of the brain. It is not the brain which thinks any more than it is the eye which sees, though each of these material organs is used by the mind. That which sees and thinks is the mind.[19] The brain in no proper sense is ever the cause of thought. Thought is not its function. It cannot think. It is the material instrument used by the mind in thinking and in revealing thought. It conditions thought in

[18] Roget's Physiology, p. 260.

[19] Animal and vegetable Physiology, by Peter Mark Roget, Vol. 2, pp. 58, 59, 61, 64, 65.

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this world and in this life. It is the medium through which the mind comes into communication with the material universe. Through the organs of sense the mind gains a knowledge of material things and forces; and by the use of the voluntary nerves and muscles it controls, uses and appropriates the elements, and forces of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms. That the mind does use the brain and nervous organism we know, but how it is done is an incomprehensible mystery. The union of mind and brain in work is a fact. Of the mode of this union we know nothing.

As, however, it is admitted that the brain is the organ of mind, and this is expressly maintained by those who hold the distinct nature and higher functions of mind, all disorder or disease of the brain must present facts of importance towards constructing a theory of the relations of mind and brain.[20] The facts thus presented are fatal to the doctrine that the brain is the cause of mind. In M. Esquirol's great work, *Des Maladies Mentales*, in referring to the case of a recent maniac who was killed by one of her companions, and in whose body, he and his pupils could find no leisions of the brain or meninges, he states: "That pathological anatomy has not been able to make us acquainted with the organic cause of mania."[21] The reason is apparent. The brain is not the cause of intelligence and reason, therefore insanity is found where no organic disease of the brain exists. If the brain was the cause of mind, insanity could not be found in the absence of brain injury or disease. The effect can only exist where its producing cause is present. This is demanded by the law of causation. Every effect must have a cause adequate to its production.

Observed facts show not only the presence of insanity where the most careful investigation reveals no injury to, or disease of the brain, but they also show that organic disease of the brain may exist in the absence of all mental derangement.[22] This would not be possible if the brain was the cause of all

[20] Relations of Mind and Brain, by H. Chalderwood, p. 362.

[21] Bucknill and Tuke on Insanity, p. 395.

[22] Winslow on Brain and Mind, p. 32.

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mental phenomena. A diseased brain could not create a sound and healthy mind.

The brain and nervous system is the instrument not only of the intellect but also of the will. It is concerned not only in thought and emotion, but also in volition and action. The function of the voluntary nerves and muscles is to serve the will. They constitute the mechanism of free and voluntary action.

Dr. Draper, speaking of the nervous system as including the brain, states: "That through this all voluntary muscular action takes place." [23]

The system of voluntary nerves and muscles appears to have been created for and adapted to the service of the will. Without this faculty of the soul as far as we know they would be useless. They are not concerned in purely vital and mental phenomena. They are not necessary to thought or life; for these can and do exist without them. But they are necessary to the action of will. If they did not exist this faculty would have no organ; and if man was not endowed with will they would have no function.

Says Dr. Calderwood: on account of the muscular system being acted upon by impulses transmitted from the centre, and for a definite purpose, the muscle so moved has been named a voluntary muscle in contrast with involuntary muscles, such as in the heart or stomach, which move independently of will. In the same way, nerves which produce muscular movement, such as the motion of the hand in writing, are spoken of as voluntary nerves.

This is a figurative use of the term voluntary or volitional, which can hardly be misunderstood. Neither the muscles nor the nerves are voluntary, but these two are the instruments of volition, to use the phrase of Sir Charles Bell. There is a fact presented in comparative physiology which bears directly on this question. The elephant, the whale and the horse have very large brains, though they do not posses more intelligence than other animals whose brains are not so large. The reason

[23] Draper's Physiology, p. 258.

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for this is found in the fact that these large brains serve the will as well as the intellect; and these animals have great power in what are termed the voluntary muscles. With them the muscular energy under the control of the will is very great. Men of superior will power have large brains. This is necessary if the brain is the instrument of volition as well as of thought. Large brain power is demanded for great actions as well as for great thoughts.

The system of voluntary nerves and muscles is the mechanism of will, and the existence of a machine is evidence of the existence of a power to use it. Here we have the physiological proof of the existence of will. The greatest fact of our personal consciousness, is, that we have within us a self-determining power we call will. And we may find, in the evidence of the intimate relation between mental activity and physical changes in the brain, the most satisfactory grounds which science can afford for our belief in the phenomena of the material universe as the expression of an infinite mind and will of which man's is the finite representative. This gives to will not only ethical but religious relations as well; and through its action is revealed to us not only the existence but the personality of God.

The will having control of the brain as its instrument of voluntary action can and does put a check on the action of the body, to which it is prompted by some strong internal impulse, or external danger, so that time is gained for consideration, and rational conduct. This is a common experience and it shows the power of the will to control the nervous and muscular organism. This fact shows that the brain is the instrument of the will in its volitional acts. The power of the will to restrain paroxysms of madness even in the insane, under the influence of hope or fear, as has been often demonstrated by experiment, proves that it is distinct from the organism, and has control of it.

The voluntary nerves and muscles being the instrument of the will, if the instrument is broken, or injured by disease, the action of the will is impared or lost. To test the exis-

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tence and strength of the will we should have, not a diseased, but a healthy organism. It is not sound reasoning to infer that because the manifestations of will are weak and uncertain in a diseased man, that, therefore willing, is purely a function of the brain. This M. Ribot does. The weak and uncertain manifestations of will power in a diseased organism would result whether the brain was the cause or the instrument of will. Music is the result of the combined action of the musician and the instrument. Without a performer there would be no music, however perfect the instrument; but a broken instrument would make poor music, however perfect the musician. The brain without the will would not act volitionally at all, and a diseased or injured brain would act imperfectly under the control of a strong will. This shows that the imperfect action in a diseased organism is no proof that the organism is the cause of all voluntary action.

The doctrine advocated by some physiologists of the materialistic school, that the only difference between the intelligence of man and the brute is caused by the larger brain of man, is not true. The brain of the elephant and whale is as large as man's, but these animals will not compare with man in intelligence. Facts prove that the part of the animal creation which stands next to man in intellect are not the large but the small brained species.

Recent investigations show that the ant, bee and wasp, and not the anthropoid ape, stand next to man in intellect. The brains of these specimens of animal life are so small that it is difficult to see them with the natural eye, and we have no instruments that will weigh them. Comparative physiology thus proves that it is not the size of the brain, alone, that makes the difference between man and the lower animals. The difference is not material, but spiritual. It is not organic, but mental and moral. There is a difference, not so much in the quantity as in the quality of being possessed by man and animals. The difference is not one of degree, but one of kind. Man belongs to a higher plane of existence; sustains larger and more varied relations, and has deeper, broader and nobler life.

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The difference is not so much physiological, as it is psychological, ethical and religious.

Dr. Draper, in his able work on physiology, has shown with great clearness, evidences in the physiology of the brain of the independent existence and immortality of the soul. He says:

"If, from the construction of the human brain, we may demonstrate the existence of a soul, is not that a gain? for there are many who are open to arguments of this class, on whom speculative reasoning or a mere dictum fall without any weight. Why should we cast aside facts presented by material objects?"

The fact that the "mind can act upon external nature through the intervention of the bodily mechanism" shows that the mind is distinct from the body. The one is a machine, and the other a force that uses and controls it. The one is a mechanism, and the other a rational, intelligent and personal agent, that owns and governs it. These are the revelations that physiology makes to us, on the independent existence of spirit, and its control of the body.

Again, Dr. Draper says:

"It may not be out of place here to dispose of an argument that some have insisted on, that, since the development of mind proceeds in an equal step with the development of the body, each expanding or declining with the other, the dissolution of the animal fabric is the token of the dissolution of the soul. Against this doctrine the whole human family, in all ages, has borne its testimony, and if universal impressions arise from physical constitution far more than they do from tradition, it may be truly said that that doctrine is incompatible with the organization of man. Probably there is no question which has received a greater amount of individual and general attention—none which has more deeply exercised the thought of the profoundest intellect; and what is the actual result? Whatever may be the social state, barbarous or polished, whatever the manner of life, whatever the climate, whatever the form of religion, the assertion of the existence of spirit after death is universal."

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This conclusion is in harmony with the revelations of physiology and psychology. If the body be the organized instrument of spirit, it is evident that the destruction of the instrument does not involve the destruction of the agent who uses it.

William Tucker.

Article XX.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism.

"Even in his dying hour, when there could be no longer worldly motive for deceit, he still breathed the same religious devotion, and the same belief in his apostolic mission. The last words that trembled on his lips ejaculated a trust of soon entering into blissful companionship with the prophets who had gone before him."

Washington Irving.

"I ask myself if all that host,
Whose marble turbans o'er them nod,
Were doomed, when giving up the ghost,
To die as those who have no God.
No, no, my God. They worshiped Thee;
Then let no doubts my spirit darken,
That Thou, who always hearest me,
To these, thy children too, will hearken."

John Pierpont.

The phenomena of nature—its wise adjustments and adaptations—point to mind as their final cause.

The phenomena of history reveals a central purpose that controls its development, and a focal point towards which all its currents run.

Where wild disorder seems to prevail,—disorder that apparrently follows no dominating will, is bound to no fixed orbit, and acknowledges no absolute law,—closer observation is sure to discern, as the smoke lifts from battlefields where the conflict no longer rages, the fair form of Order, bearing aloft her appropriate symbols, or walking unscathed in the fiery furnace wherein the gold is riven from the crude ore, "with visage like unto a son of the gods."

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole," and Judaism,

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Christianity and Mohammedanism have been among its most efficient factors. Each, in turn, has played its appointed part in the recovery and development of the human race. Idolatry and materialism are the chief foes of mankind, and we are constrained to believe that these three great systems of religion were instituted by Divine Providence to effect their ultimate overthrow and extermination. As a step toward a demonstration of this theorem, the reader is invited to a brief but comprehensive study of the part played in this august drama by Mohammed and Mohammedanism.

And first of all, that we may understand the work Mohammed was set to do, it is necessary that we obtain at least a glimpse of the religious and social condition of the Arab people, and of the Christian church, at the time Mohammed began his career,—or, let us call it his mission,—say about the year of our Lord 610.

Looking backward from that period to remote antiquity, we find that the Arab people, as a whole, were debased by the grossest idol-worship, and the lowest forms of materialism. Sabianism had infected the whole nation with its poison, and the worship of stars and angels was mingled with a cult of a much lower type. Animals and plants,—the gazelle, the horse, the camel and the palm tree; inorganic matter, like pieces of rock, stones and meteorites, formed the principal objects of their adoration.[1] There were no less than 360 idols about the Caaba at Mecca when Mohammed began his crusade against idolatry. Human sacrifices, too, were frequent, and the infanticide of females was not uncommon.[2] Besides this, each tribe had its particular idols and temples,—rival gods and godesses, and rival shrines,—and often arose sanguinary conflicts between their devotees, and blood flowed freely; for the Arab was a child of the sun—hot-blooded, sanguinary and fierce.

Both Jews and Christians had tried their hand at proselyting these proud wild sons of the desert, but with meagre re-

[1] Sale's Prelim. Disc., p. 14. Syed Ameer Ali's Life of Mohammed, p. 17.

[2] Ali, p. 18.

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sults. Neither succeeded in raising them in the scale of humanity. After five centuries of Christian evangelization, says Muir, we can point to but a sprinkling, here and there, of Christians. Judaism had exhibited a spasmodic effort at proselyting; but as an active and converting agent the Jewish faith was no longer operative. The tide of indigenous idolatry and Ishmaelite superstition, setting from every quarter with an unbroken and unebbing surge toward the Caaba, gave ample evidence that the faith and worship of Mecca held the Arab mind in a thraldom at once rigorous and unflinching.[3]

Politically the Arabs had made no real advancement. The structure of society was patriarchal, and tribal, and therefore rent with divisions and jealousies. The several families and tribes adhered feebly together, acknowledged no law but custom, and no political superior. They were a wild, unconquerable, infusable race, always wrangling, engaged in interminable feuds, always plundering with every opportunity, and having little conception of moral obligation except as the result of a voluntary compact within a very narrow circle.[4]

As for the condition of the Christian world at the same time, it was anything but harmonious and peaceful. Endless schisms and contentions, malice, rancour and ignoble ambitions were its most pronounced features; while image-worship, —a species of idolatry,—was at a scandalous pitch. Learning, too, was at a low ebb, and political fabrics were crumbling and near to their fall.[5] In a word, the political, social and religious condition of the world was precisely in a state to be awed into seriousness by an event apparently supernatural—to be shocked into propriety by a blast of the trumpet of doom.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, "when in the midst of the wrangling of sects, in the incomprehensible jargon of Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, Monophysites, Mariolatrists, and an anarchy of countless disputants, there sounded through the world, not the miserable voice of the intriguing majority of a council, but the dread battle-cry,—

[3] Muir, Vol. II., Intro., p. ccxxxix.

[4] Arabs and Turks, p. 33.

[5] Sale, pp. 23-7.

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'There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet'—enforced by a storm of Saracen armies," the wranglers, idolaters and atheistic materialists stood aghast, and in the presence of a common danger the hubbub ceased.[6]

Nor is it surprising, when we consider the political corruption, the religious confusion, the prevalence of ignorance, superstition and unbelief, that Asia and Africa were lost to the cross; that "Christianity was expelled from its most glorious seats; from Palestine, the scene of its most sacred recollections; from Asia Minor, that of its first churches; from Egypt, whence issued the doctrines of Trinitarian orthodoxy; from Carthage, who imposed her belief on Europe."[7]

Surveying, therefore, the whole field as it was about the beginning of the seventh century, it must, we think, in all candor and fairness, be conceded that Mohammed was a providential man—the right man at the right time, and in the right place; not self-appointed, but God-appointed, and set to do God's work in the world. To me it is evident—considering what he taught, and what he accomplished—that the special work he was set to do was to exterminate idolatry; first of all among his own people, which he most effectually did; to set in motion agencies that should exterminate it among many nations, which, upon a large scale, Mohammedanism has accomplished; to assert and enforce the existence, sovereignty, and personality of one sole supreme God, who rules in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of earth, and whose power none can withstand or gainsay; to inculcate the duty of personal cleanliness, sobriety, temperance, fasting, prayer, almsgiving and charity; to impress men with a profound sense of responsibility to God, both in this life and in the life to come; to inspire a sense of spiritual realities that should be abiding and victorious above all doubt and unbelief. This much, at least, Mohammed was set to do, and this much he did do.

And besides this, and more too: He was appointed, in some sense, to be the scourge of wicked and faithless peoples in the

[6] Draper's Intelect. Devel. of Europe, p. 246. [7] Ibid, p. 245.

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church and outside the church; to revive and extend the area of learning and art, polite and practical; to make a sound contribution to the civilization of mankind; to be in reality, under God, an ally of the religion of the cross. The function of Mohammed and Mohammedanism was not unlike the function of Moses and the Mosaic economy,—both having reference to the more excellent ministry of Jesus Christ,—both being confluents of the main stream of history, whose fountain head was in Paradise.

Personally, Mohammed possessed a combination of qualities that admirably fitted him for his appointed task. "A preacher, and a soldier; eloquent in the pulpit, valiant in the field." He knew nothing of books, nor of schools. He was neither theologian nor philosopher. He did not, therefore, engage in metaphysical hair-splitting. His business, so he believed, was to assert the immutable focal truth,—"There is no god but God,"—which truth he believed was violated by all the rest of the world,—not only by idolaters, but by Christians as well.

Mohammedan authors never tire when speaking of his personal appearance, his piety, veracity, justice; his liberality, clemency, humility and abstinence. He was, they tell us, of middle stature and square build. His head was capacious and well shaped. His forehead was high, and broad at the temples. He had marked and expressive features, a strong nose, black eyes and hair, and a long full beard.[8] He was courteous to the great, affable to the humble, dignified to the presumptuous; and withal there was a majesty in his face, and an air of genius that impressed all who came in contact with him with a sense of veneration and love. His countenance reflected the benevolence of his heart.

Eminently unpractical in all common things, he was gifted with mighty powers of imagination, elevation of mind, delicacy and refinement of feeling. Says a Mohammedan writer, "he was more modest than a virgin behind her curtain." Ten years, said his servant Anas, was I about the Prophet, and he never said to me so much as, *Uff*. He was fond of children,

[8] Irving, Life of Mohammed, Vol. II, p. 327.

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and never struck one in his life. When asked to curse some one, he replied,—"I have not been sent to curse, but to be a mercy to mankind." He visited the sick, followed any bier, accepted the invitation of a slave to dinner, mended his own clothes, milked the goats, and waited upon himself. With the bereaved and afflicted he sympathized tenderly. He shared his food in times of scarcity with others, loved the poor and respected them. Dates and water frequently formed his only nourishment. "God," say the Moslem historians, "had, indeed, put before him the key of the treasures of this world, but he refused it." [9]

The last time he appeared in the mosque he was supported by his two cousins, Ali and Fadhl. Placed on a seat, he addressed the assembled multitude with impressive solemnity. "Moslems," he said, "if I have wronged any one of you, I am here to answer for it. If I owe aught to any one, all I may happen to possess belongs to you." A man arose in the crowd and claimed three dihrems. They were immediately paid back with the remark,—"It is better to blush in this world than in the next." After this he never again appeared at public prayers. He died at noon, Monday, June 12, 632. [10]

That this man was an artful, deliberate impostor, I do not believe.

"What object," asks Irving, "had he to gain? Was it riches? His marriage with the widow Cadijah had already made him wealthy, and for years preceeding his pretended visions he had manifested no desire to increase his store. Was it distinction? He already stood high in his native place for intelligence and probity. He was of the illustrious tribe of Koreish, and of the most honored branch of that tribe. Was it power? The guardianship of the Caaba, with its command of the sacred city, had been for generations in his family, and in time he was certain to be promoted to that exalted trust. On attempting to subvert the faith in which he had been brought up, he struck at the root of all these advantages." [11]

He sacrificed a brilliant future, and turned away from

[9] Syed Ameer Ali, pp. 155-6-8. [10] Ibid, p. 154.

[11] Irving's Mohammed, Vol. II., p. 333.

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present emoluments and ease. He cast his life and his convictions of truth and duty into one scale, against all the world had to give heaped upon the other.

In the commencement of his career Mohammed was met with the hostility and determined opposition of his people. His denunciations of idolatry aroused their passions, and evoked their scorn. They followed him wherever he went. They threw stones at him when he was engaged in his devotions. They threw dirt on him during his meals. They stopped him from offering his prayers near the Caaba. Each family took upon itself the task of strangling the new religion among its members, and men or women found abandoning the worship of idols, were offered the alternative of idol-worship or death. Several times they sent deputations to his uncle, Abû Tâleb, asking him to stop his nephew from preaching against their religion, which he endeavored to do. Sending for Mohammed, he informed him of the speech of the Koreish, and begged him to renounce the task he had undertaken. But his high resolve did not fail him for a moment. With unflinching firmness he replied: "O my uncle, if they placed the sun on my right hand, and the moon on my left, to force me to renounce my work, verily I would not desist therefrom until God made manifest his cause, or I perished in the attempt." For three years he labored quietly to wean his people from the worship of idols, and at the end of that time he was a ruined man. For thirteen years the almost single-handed struggle continued in and around Mecca, when, to escape assassination, Mohammed, attended by a single companion—Abû Bekr—fled to Yathreb, now known as Medina, which subsequently became the capital of the new faith. This was July 2, 662.[12]

Mohammed did not claim to be a miracle-worker. The people asked for miracles to prove his mission, but he replied,—"God has not sent me to work wonders. He has sent me to preach to you. If you accept what I bring you, you will have happiness in this world and the next. If you reject my admonitions, I shall be patient, and God will judge between you and

[12] Ali, p. 41, *passim*.

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me. I am but a man like you, but I bring you hopeful tidings." The reply of his adversaries to all this was emphatic enough,—"Know this, O Mohammed, we shall never cease to stop thee from preaching, till either thou or we perish."[13]

Was he self-deceived? Possibly; and that is the most that the truth will allow. It is certain that, to the end of his life, he believed he was God-appointed to do a work for God in the world. In his dying hour, when there could be no worldly motive for deceit, he still breathed the same religious devotion, and the same belief in his apostolic mission. The last words that trembled on his lips ejaculated a trust of soon entering into blissful companionship with the prophets who had gone before him.[14]

With respect to his visions, I do not hesitate to place him in the category with Swedenborg. As subjective phenomena they were undoubtedly real; but, admitting that, it does not follow that they were always reliable. The so-called Ascension, or the famous journey of Mohammed from Mecca to Jerusalem, may be taken as a specimen. "All that Mohammedans *must* believe respecting the Merâj," says Syed Ahmed Khan, "is that Mohammed *saw himself, in a vision*" thus transported. And Muir adds that "the earliest authorities point to a *vision*, not to a real bodily journey."[15] The cause of his visions, and those, too, of Sweedenborg, may here be dismissed as an open question.

Of the Kuran, which contains the substance of Mohammed's visions and inspirations, it may be briefly stated,—The revelations contained in it were given at various times, in various places, and before various persons. Sometimes they were taken down by secretaries or disciples on parchment, on palm-leaves, on the shoulder blades of sheep. They were thrown together in a chest, of which one of Mohammed's wives had charge. It was not until some time after his death that Abû Bekr undertook to have them gathered together and transcribed. Zeid Ibu Thabat, one of the secretaries of Moham-

[13] Ibid, p. 49. [14] Irving, Vol. II., p. 341.
[15] Muir, Vol. II., p. 221. Ali, p. 59.

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med, was employed for that purpose. He professed to know many parts of the Kuran by heart. Other parts he collected piece-meal from various hands, and many parts he took down as repeated to him by various disciples who professed to have heard them spoken by the prophet himself. The volume thus formed was transcribed by different hands, and put in circulation throughout the Moslem cities. But so many errors, interpolations, and contradictory readings crept into these copies, that Othman, the third Caliph, called in the various manuscripts, and forming what he pronounced the genuine Kuran, caused all others to be destroyed. The truth is that the Kuran as it now exists is not the same Kuran delivered by Mohammed to his disciples. Moreover, it is impossible to derive from the Kuran of to-day a full and true photograph of Mohammed.[16]

But the persistent vitality of Mohammedanism, and its force upon the world, has depended upon a book.

> "Imperious Cæsar dead and turn'd to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away,"

but Mohammed dead, and no memoranda of the man, his words and deeds, in a little while the movement he set on foot would have spent its force, and centuries ago have vanished in thin air. What vital things does the Kuran contain that have elevated Mohammedanism to the second in rank among the religions of the world? A brief summary of its most important doctrines will answer this question.

1. *Of God:* Ever and anon in the Kuran occur passages like the following:

"Your God is our God. There is no God but he, the most merciful. In the creation of heaven and earth, and in the alternation of day and night; in the rain which God sendeth from heaven, quickening again the earth; in the animals of all sorts which cover its surface, are signs to people of understanding; yet some men take idols beside God, and love them with the love due to God."[17]

Again,—

[16] Irving, Vol. 1., p. 331.

[17] Kuran, chap. 2, verses 158-60.

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"He launches His thunderbolts and striketh therewith whomsoever He pleaseth, while they dispute concerning Him. He hath created the heavens and the earth to manifest His justice. Far be that from Him which they associate with Him. He hath created man, and behold he is a professed disputer. If ye were to reckon up the blessings of God, ye shall not be able to compute their number. God is surely gracious and merciful. He knoweth that which ye conceal and that which ye publish. But these idols whom ye invoke, besides the Lord, create nothing, but are themselves created. They are dead and not living." [18]

There is scarcely a chapter that does not contain some fervid passages on the power, mercy, justice and unity of God. He denounces the Jews for their worship of idols, and Christians for their worship of Jesus and Mary. In one place he cries out,—

"O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not the just bounds of your religion; neither say otherwise of God than the truth. Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and His Word. Believe therefore in God and his apostles, and say not there are three Gods. Forbare this. Christ does not proudly disdain to be a servant of God." [19]

2. *Of Prayer:* Prayer is to be addressed to God alone. It is commanded as a means of moral elevation, and the purification of the heart.

"Rehearse," says the Kuran, "that which hath been revealed to thee of the Book, and be constant at prayer, for prayer preserveth from crimes, and from that which is blameable, and the remembrance of God is surely a most sacred duty." [20]

I cannot forbear quoting this from the Mishkât, as it evinces a true spirit, and an honest fervor, that would become a sincere Christian when addressing his Maker in prayer:

"O Lord! I supplicate Thee for firmness in faith, and direction towards rectitude, and to assist me in being grateful to Thee, and in adoring Thee in every good way. And I suppli-

[18] Kuran, chap. 16, verses 3 to 18.

[19] Ibid, chap. 4, v. 169. [20] Ibid, chap. 29, v. 44.

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cate Thee for an innocent heart which shall not incline to wickedness. And I supplicate Thee for a true tongue, and for that virtue which Thou knowest. O my Defender, assist me in remembering Thee, and in worshipping Thee with the excess of my strength. O Lord, I have injured my own soul, and no one can pardon the faults of thy servant but Thee. Forgive me out of Thy loving kindness, and have mercy upon me; for verily Thou art the forgiver of offences, and the bestower of blessings upon Thy servants." [21]

Mohammed directed that during prayer the face should be turned towards Mecca, in order to keep in memory the birthplace of Islam, but the rule is not essential to devotion.

"It is not righteousness," says the Kuran, "that ye turn your faces in prayer towards the east or the west, but righteousness is of him who believeth in God; who giveth money for God's sake unto his kindred, unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and to those who ask, and for the redemption of captives; who is constant at prayer and giveth alms; and of those who perform the covenant when they have covenanted; and who behave themselves patiently in adversity and hardships, and in times of violence,—these are they who are true."[22]

3. *Of Salvation:* Salvation is not confined to the followers of Mohammed alone. In the Kuran it is said:

"To every one we have given a law and a way. If God had pleased he would have made all mankind one people, of one religion. But he hath done otherwise, that he might try you in that which he hath severally given you; wherefore press forward in good works. Unto God ye shall return, and He will tell you that concerning which ye disagree." [23]

"He who directeth himself towards God, and doth that which is right, he shall have his reward with his Lord." [24] "Verily those who believe (the Moslems), and those who are Jews, Christians, or Sabeans, whoever hath faith in God and the last day (future existence), and worketh that which is right and good, for them shall be the reward of their Lord; there will come no fear on them; neither shall they be grieved." [25]

It is the pivot of Islam that the grace and mercy of God are

[21] Ali. p. 176. [22] Kuran, chap. 2, v. 172. [23] Ibid, chap. 5, v. 36.
[24] Ibid, chap. 5, v. 106. [25] Ibid, chap. 2, v. 59.

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bestowed on all alike. This is a doctrinal point that one is absolutely required to accept without reservation.

4. *Of Judgment and Punishment:* There will be a period of judgment in which all souls will participate. The only question on which, at least temporarily, is suspended the weal or woe of the soul, is a purely practical one. All turns on strict equity. Faith has little or nothing to do with it. Do the good works of a man outweigh, so much as by a hair, his evil works? If so, he goes to the right into paradise; if not, to the left he goes. Punishment is not necessarily endless. No Islamite can be damned eternally, and escape seems provided for all on repentance.[26] On this point, however, and respecting the sensuous descriptions of Hell and Paradise, Mohammedans are divided. The Kuran is treated and interpreted by Mohammedans precisely as the Bible is treated and interpreted by "evangelicals" and "liberal Christians." There are *Ahl-ul-tradis*, "people of tradition;" and *Ahl-uz-Rai*, "people of reason or judgment." A Mohammedan doctor was asked,—"If an interpretation of a text of the Kuran was made, seeming to agree with its letter, but disagreeing with your judgment, which would you follow?" He unhesitating answered,—"I would follow my judgment."

One of the chief offences laid to the charge of Mohammed is, that he propagated his religion by the sword; that the alternative given the unbeliever was Islam or death. "Upon this point the Christian world should have very little to say. Mohammed and his successors extended toleration and protection both to Christians and Jews, upon the comparatively easy terms of a definite tribute, such as for many centuries no Christian power would have accorded to Mohammedans; such, even, as the various Christian sects would not accord to each other."[27] "Let there be no forcing in Religion," says the Kuran;[28] and Mohammed wrote to the Christians of Najrân, their bishops, priests, and monks, and all that followed them, saying that

[26] Ibid, chap. 25, vv. 64–76,

[27] Arabs and Turks, p. 49, [28] Ibid, chap. ii., v. 257.

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"They should continue in the possession and practise of everything small and great, as it then stood, in their churches, their prayers and their monasteries. The pledge of God and of his Prophet was given that no Bishop should be removed from his bishopric, nor any monk from his monastery, nor any priest from his priesthood; so long as they conducted themselves peaceably and uprightly, they shall not be burdened with oppression, neither shall they oppress." [29]

But in that age there were few men of any religion, true or false, who did not believe it was right to propagate their faith by the sword. By the degenerate Christian world, both East and West, the utter extermination of heretics was both preached and practised. Just before the birth of Mohammed, the Emperor Justinian, in a military persecution, which exterminated a hundred thousand of his subjects, blotted out the poor remains of the Samaritan people, excepting a few wretched survivors who consented to be baptized. At a later day the Albigenses of the South of France, and the Moors and Jews of Spain met a similar fate from the Church and powers of the West. These terrible practices, and the doctrines that led to them, were characteristic of the age, and for them no church and no faith is to be held responsible. We deny altogether, says Syed Ameer Ali, that Islam ever interfered with the dogmas of any moral faith, ever persecuted, or ever established an Inquisition.[30] These, surely, are great merits.

Bnt, incontestibly, the world owes a great debt to Mohammed and Mohammedanism. It is reported of Mohammed that he said,—

"Instruct in knowledge, because he who instructs fears God; who speaks of it, praises the Lord; who disputes about it, engages in holy warfare; who seeks it, adores God; who spreads it, dispenses alms to the ignorant; and who possesses it attains the veneration and good will of all." [31]

[29] Muir, vol. 2, p. 299.

[30] Arabs and Turks, p. 50. Ali, p. 214. Milman's Hist. Jews, vol. 3, pp. 66-70. Gibbon's Decline and Fall. vol. 4, p. 530.

[31] Ali, p. 317, note.

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No wonder that so long as his followers observed the spirit of such teaching they were the masters of the intellectual world."

"The Shemites," says Emanuel Deutsch, "came to Europe as kings, whither the Phœnicians had come as tradesmen, and the Jews as fugitives and captives; came to Europe to hold up, together with these fugitives, the light to humanity; they alone, while darkness lay around, to raise up the wisdom and knowledge of Hellas from the dead, to teach philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and the golden art of song to the West as to the East, to stand at the cradle of modern science, and to cause us late epigoni forever to weep over the day when Grenada fell."[32]

Something there was in the intellectual make-up and religion of these wild sons of the desert that gave vitality to their movement, made them the most successful explorers in the realm of science, and the grandest patrons of learning and art in any age. During centuries of moral and intellectual dessolation, Islâm led the vanguard of intellectual progress. From the schools of Salerno, Bagdad, Damascus, Granada, Cordova, Malaga, the Moslems taught the truths of philosophy and the facts of science; and in the encyclopædia of modern philosophy and science, there is not a single department that does not testify to the fruits of their labors.

"In the ninth and tenth centuries, the darkest period of the dark ages in Christian Europe, the Mohammedan kingdoms were the light of the world. Schools and universities were founded in most of the leading cities, and large and numerous public libraries were collected. More than seventy such libraries were formed in the cities of Spain. That at Cordova contained 600,000 volumes. Treatises on astronomy, geometry, chemistry were translated from the Greek, and everywhere taught. Moral and metaphysical philosophy was dilligently cultivated, and the science of medicine was pursued with pre-eminent success." [33]

From every part of the globe students and scholars flocked to Cordova, to Bagdad, to Cairo, to listen to the words of the

[32] Islam, Quarterly Review, No. 254, p. 344. Lit. Remains of Emanuel Deutsch, p. 126–171.

[33] Milman, Lat. Chris., Vol. 2, p. 171, Vol. 8, p. 243.

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Saracenic sages. Men, who became in after life the heads of the Christian church,—like Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester,—drank at the fountain of Mohammed. The house of the Buyide, the Samanide, the Gaznavide, in the East, the Fatimite, and the Ayubite, in the West, the Ommiades, who reigned in Spain, outvied each other in the cultivation of arts and letters. From the Atlantic to the Indian ocean, resounded the voice of Philosophy and learning under Moslem inspiration. Sir James Stephens remarks that the Arabs in imparting their stores of knowledge to Western Europe, proved themselves more zealous and more successful than the Greeks. The moral and physical sciences were in that age far better cultivated and understood on the banks of the Nile than on the shores of the Hellespont. [34]

This period of intellectual and moral vigor lasted to the close of the 15th century; and then the Moslem power, grown corrupt, and rent with political feuds, the people gradually became the prey of corrupt rulers, Christian powers assumed dominance, and either by laws of inevitable decay, or by the sweep of the sword, as in Spain, the shrines of learning perished, and the Moslems sank into hopeless decay

For twelve hundred years the great Mohammedan movement has played a part second to no other of the great agencies of human history. But its time has passed. Its mission is accomplished. The truths taught by Mohammed, and embodied in the Mohammedan system, are, nevertheless, imperishable. The crescent shall pale and perish in the splendor of the constellation of the cross; but the battle-cry of Mohammed,—"There is no god but God! God is one!"—shall yet be confessed in its primitive symplicity in every church, as it is in every mosque, and ring the broad globe around. Then shall Mohammedan and Christian unite their acclamations and confesss,—

> "Now God is God! The Alpine summit rings
> With the loud echoes of Jehovah's praise,
> And from the valley where the cow-boy sings,
> To God alone goes up his votive lays.

[34] Lect. on Hist. France, p. 154. Arabs and Turks, p. 66. Gibbon, Vol. 5, p. 262.

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To Him the mariner at midnight prays,
To Him uplifts the yearnings of his soul,
And where the sunbeam on the snow-peak plays,
And where the thunders o'er the desert roll,
His praise goes swelling up and rings from pole to pole.

"All praise to Thee from every living thing,
And from the temples of adoring hearts;
Science to Thee her richest fruits shall bring,
And commerce rear Thy altars in her marts.
Thou shalt be worshiped by the glorious arts,
And sought by wisdom in her calm retreat;
The student, brooding o'er his mystic charts,
Shall note the steps of thy star-sandaled feet,
Till through the zodiac traced he mounts the mercy seat."

G. T. Flanders.

Article XXI.

Man's Place in Nature.

The universal belief has prevailed, until quite recent times, that man's place in nature was separate and distinct from all other organic forms. He was a special creation, made distinct and perfect in the image of the Creator, appearing at a time when the earth was prepared for him as an habitation. The various kinds of animals and plants were special creations, too, but man was the ripe product of the Creator's hand, and was complete from the moment of his origin. This belief, of course, did not originate in any scientific study of the subject. It was promulgated by authority, although it was universally held, until the beginning of the present century, not only by theologians, but by naturalists, as well.

Lamarck first formulated the doctrine of descent, in 1804; but his views, though profound and original, gained few adherents—the progress of scientific knowledge had not yet paved the way for its general acceptance. Goethe, the great German writer, whose original and creative mind did not confine itself to the realm of letters and the imagination, but

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invaded the physical sciences as well, made some important discoveries which tended to confirm the theory of Lamarck, and was himself a believer in it. The subject had already begun to agitate the scientific world when a memorable discussion took place, in 1830, in the French Academy, between Geoffrey St. Hilaire and Cuvier, the renowned naturalist. St Hilaire held that the different species of animals were not separate creations, but that they had developed, one from the other, through gradual transmutations, covering long periods of time. Cuvier held to the theory of cataclysms or catastrophes to account for the striking differences in the organic remains of the geological epochs. This theory assumed that the earth was subject to violent convulsions, in which all living things were destroyed, and that when the agitation subsided a new creation of life took place, again re-peopling the desolated earth. The discussion was warm, and when Goethe heard of it he declared with prophetic vision that the great crisis had come at last. Cuvier, however, with the weight of his great authority, was victorious, the theory of catastrophes was decided to be fully re-established, and the doctrine of descent went to sleep again, until finally re-awakened once more by the memorable work of Darwin, in 1859.

When this work appeared, the time, at last, was ripe for its acceptance, or, at least, for a reasonably fair examination of its claims. Apart from the previous imperfect state of scientific knowledge, none of the preceding writers had been able to show how and why these transmutations took place, by which species were developed from one another. The new theory was startling, which was enough to make men distrustful of it, and at the same time it was unsupported by reasons sufficiently cogent to explain how these wonderful changes were made. Why should nature, without any apparent cause work these remarkable modifications? What motive had she to change a reptile into a bird, or a fish into an amphibian, and then into a land animal, as this theory requires? This was one great stumbling block that checked the advance of this belief. Darwin was happy in the discovery of many causes to show how

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and why modifications occur, but the chief among them, and which has become one of the most widely accepted ideas of the day, is the struggle for existence, a law universal and incessant in its operation, the truth of which is so clear on the face of it that it had only to be announced and fortified with some reasons to be instantly accepted by all those who were disposed to give any unprejudiced thought to the subject. Now upon what is the idea based? That all living things, both animals and plants, multiply so fast, that if all the progeny reached maturity, the earth would soon be utterly unable to hold the product. Indeed, Darwin says that:

"Every organic being naturally increases at so high a rate that if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of a single pair. Even slow breeding man has doubled in twenty-five years, and at this rate, in a few thousand years there would literally not be room for his progeny. Linnæus has calculated that if an annual plant produced only two seeds, and there is no plant so unproductive as this, and their seedlings next year produced two, and so on, then in twenty years there would be a million plants. The elephant," continues Mr. Darwin," is reckoned to be the slowest breeder of all known animals, and I have taken some pains to estimate its probable minimum rate of natural increase. It will be under the mark to assume that it breeds when thirty years old, and goes on breeding till ninety years old, bringing forth three pair of young in this interval; if this be so, at the end of the fifth century there would be alive fifteen million elephants, descended from the first pair."

Now when you consider how enormously productive some plants and animals are, and how few can reach maturity, there follows of inevitable necessity that there must be a most active competition going on among them, and that only those individuals best fitted to maintain the struggle can have any hope of surviving. This competition includes not merely the struggle between individuals of the same species, but between individuals of different species, and relates as well to the more or less perfect adaptation of the organism to its environment. 'Insects and seeds are destroyed by birds, the birds, their eggs

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or nestlings are destroyed by other birds and beasts of prey,' and these in their turn, during seasons of scarcity destroy each other. Incessant warfare for life is the universal law of all living things.

In this close and deadly struggle the slightest superiority is often enough to turn the scale and to preserve its fortunate possessor from destruction. The weak or ill-adapted ones are thus weeded out, and that slight superiority which preserved the survivor is by the law of heredity transmitted to its offspring. These in their turn transmit it to their descendants, with other variations, and in this way, through long periods of time, different types have arisen, separated so widely from the original stock that it seems at first sight impossible they could have had a common origin. It was, I say, the distinguished merit of Mr. Darwin, in formulating his theory of descent, to have made this notable discovery, by which to account for the variation of species.

From the day that book appeared, the special creation theory was at an end—not that it immediately disappeared, or is even now entirely dropped, for beliefs so long rooted as that cannot be dislodged in a single day—but it was plain that a theory, which had so little in reason to support it, could not by Darwin's own law of the 'survival of the fittest' long withstand the competition of one which was addressed to the reason and the understanding and which accounted for the endless variety of nature by laws to be seen in actual operation to-day.

In order to show how it was possible for animals derived from a common stock to deviate from the original form, Mr. Darwin undertook to show the wide divergences that take place under domestication. He made a special study, among others, of the domestic pigeon, and established, conclusively, that all the numerous varieties of that bird, the carrier, the short-faced tumbler, the runt, the barb, the pouter, the fantail and the rest, have all descended from the common rock pigeon. "And yet," says Mr. Darwin, "if these varieties were shown to an ornithologist, and he were told that they were wild birds, he would certainly rank them as well defined species."

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See the wide variations between the several breeds of dogs; compare the greyhound and the pug, for example, and who would suppose they could have had common or allied ancestors? The farmyard and the stables illustrate every day how it is possible, by judicious selection on the part of breeders, to develop almost any point which they think will give an added value to their stock. The variations under domestication are apparent, even to the most unobservant eye.

Now a similar process is going on in nature, not by an artificial, but by a natural selection, in which the best endowed individuals, that is, those most completely in harmony with their environment, succeed in the intense struggle for life, and succeeding, leave, by inheritance, to their offspring, those qualities which rendered them victorious, to be again brought into competition with other rivals, the weaker or the ill-adapted in each succeeding strife always 'going to the wall.' Natural selection, of course, requires much longer periods of time to produce its results, than artificial selection, for in artificial selection the breeds are preserved from the struggle for life by the protecting hand of man, and his intelligence enables him to select only those animals possessing most fully the qualities he seeks to preserve, rejecting the others. Without offering any further proofs in support of this theory of the origin of species, it may with truth be said that it is the accepted doctrine of all naturalists and scientists of to-day, and that it is rapidly becoming the common property of the whole civilized world.

But you ask what has this to do with my subject? How do you connect the origin of species with man's place in nature? The average reader, in looking over Mr. Darwin's book when it first appeared, would have seen, it is true, that this theory upset the special creation theory, in regard to animals and plants, but that it had no obvious connection with man, for man was only alluded to in a few closing words. It was apparent, however, to a good many, and the theologians were not less discerning than the rest, that if all below man had sprung from simpler forms, and had been developed by certain laws into the present highly-organized types, what reason have we

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to exclude man from the same influences? If the special creation of animals is an illusion, what guarantee have we that the special creation of man will not, in its turn, be assailed as an illusion also? So what are called the systematists in science, the catastrophists, and all the believers in things as they are, made a desperate assault on Mr. Darwin and his book. They felt instinctively that a revolution was impending, and that both could not, by any possibility, survive the conflict.

The chorus of dissent was loud and fierce, and it might have appeared to the spectators of the fray that this theory would again be beaten in the struggle. But the defenders, though far inferior in numbers to their assailants, equalled them in vigor, and stoutly maintained their ground. The new doctrine steadily advanced, and had made such progress that at the end of ten years Mr. Darwin was encouraged to publish his views in regard to the descent of man, and which he had refrained from giving in his earlier work, fearing that they would add to the prejudices against his theory of species, as they undoubtedly would. In this work he endeavors to show that the same natural causes which have affected the development of species, have been active in producing and developing man; that he is but another and a higher species, linked by the ties of consanguinity with all that have gone before. Although this is startling enough, the battle had been really fought out over the first book, where man had been studiously kept out of sight; so that when this bold doctrine was distinctly announced the public mind was already prepared for it, and the protests were less numerous and less violent than ten years before.

It is no exaggeration to say that this application of the theory, though less universally accepted than in its application to species, is still the accepted belief of most men of science, and of large numbers who are not men of science; it has given an immense impetus to the development of science in every direction; it has invaded the realm of letters, politics, medicine; history may be read anew and will be written anew in the light of it; it has found a place even in the pulpit. Natural selection, the struggle for existence, and illustrations drawn from

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the same are not infrequently heard from the sacred desk. So you will see the direct bearing which the establishment of this theory has upon the topic chosen for this paper.

If man has been developed from a lower to a higher form, he is then an integral part of the animal kingdom, and his place in nature is known. If he is a separate and independent creation, standing entirely distinct from all other organic forms, he then occupies a position of isolation, and investigations in the world of nature, by which he is surrounded, can throw but little light either upon his past history or the course of his future development. Analogies drawn from the natural world will have but little value in our speculations concerning him, since he has no direct filiation with his environment, and must be studied apart from his surroundings. The one belief makes the study of him profitless and idle; more than this it offers nothing but discouragement to the human race; the other opens up boundless fields which we can safely enter with the cheering prospect that patient investigation may result in some discovery which will help the human race in their toilsome struggle towards something better.

For see according to the special creation theory the position we occupy towards our first parents. They were created perfect, without blemish of any sort, either of mind or body, but unfortunately fell from their high estate, entailing upon their descendants all those miseries which have since afflicted the human race. Man, then, is compelled to look back to an ancestry which embodied the ideals of human perfection, and from which, even at this distant day, with all his aspirations and struggles to return to that happy state, he is still removed by a hopeless distance. His march, therefore, is not forward but backward; a retrograde movement, striving to recover that which he once possessed, and with very little hope of succeeding. Besides, assuming original perfection to be true, he cannot but feel a sense of injustice, that he was degraded without sufficient cause, and that to send man into the depths, through which he has ever since been wandering, upon so slight a provocation, is certainly repugnant to ideas of human justice, imperfect as those ideas may be.

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I say then, that this belief operates as a perpetual clog and discouragement to the human race, for, advance as we may, the advance is no absolute gain. It is no evidence of the inherent capacity of man for growth; he is perpetually reminded of his own inferiority, and that he is striving only to return to a goal, from which his superior ancestors started in their career. Besides, what assurance has he that what he has recovered since that time may not again be lost, and the weary process of recovery begin anew? If man can fall once from a high estate, he can fall twice. These are some of the results that follow from a belief in original perfection, and that they tend rather to discourage than to encourage mankind, I am firmly convinced.

The other theory, on the contrary, begins with man upo a low plane of life, and gradually advances him by successive steps, until he stands now far in advance of his early progenitors, and with limitless prospects of still farther growth,—this theory acts as a perpetual spur to exertion, and seems certain to carry the race forward beyond the possibility of retrogression. The doctrine of descent shows him his relationship to the world in which he lives, that he is not something outside of it, controlled by laws which have special application to him and to nothing else, and which, therefore, must be studied without the aid to be derived from the general study of nature herself. Once establish that he is a part of nature, and amenable to laws that affect other organisms besides his own, and then every fresh acquisition of knowledge may be made, in a more or less degree, to contribute to his welfare.

For we now have an intelligent clue, with which to solve problems, which without it are insoluble. It is a great advantage in any undertaking to have definite ideas of what you would arrive at, and of the means by which the result is to be attained. Groping in the dark involves loss of time, waste of energy and the possibility of ultimate failure. Man for centuries, on this subject, has been groping in the dark.

The Adamic theory was repugnant to reason, did not accord with the facts about us, and led us constantly into dark places,

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which the human eye could not penetrate. How was it possible for man to have begun so high and fallen so low? Compare a civilized man with an Australian bushman, and can you believe, if the pedigree of that poor savage was traced back to its source, it would lead up to such an ancestor? And yet, the best type of civilized man, superior as he is to the savage, is yet inferior to the supposed perfect source from which he sprang. Is it possible there could have been such degeneracy? I will not say it is absolutely impossible, but the human mind instinctively shrinks from such a belief.

Beliefs are not merely intellectual abstractions, which the mind can play with, to be dropped when convenient, to be again taken up for the amusement of an idle hour. They enter into the very texture of our existence, and color not only our thoughts, but our lives. And a belief that deals with the origin of man and his destiny is, of all others, most certain profoundly to affect us. Now this belief, inconsistent with reason, at variance with facts, if logically followed out, fatal to the law of progress, and throwing no light on the future development of the race, while admitting, that in an earlier civilization it may have served a useful purpose, has long since ceased to do so; and we are, therefore, justified in welcoming another, which is not inconsistent with reason; which is not at variance with facts; which is not fatal to the law of progress, and which does throw a flood of light on the future of the race.

It is not strange that to many people this new theory should be extremely repugnant. The idea of a kinship with the animal kingdom seems to involve the degredation of man. Man is crowned with reason, intellect, the power of thought, the power of speech; these are dominant forces in the world which have given him so complete a mastery. How can he, with these regal qualities, ever have been related to those inferior creatures who are without them? It is because the acceptance of this belief involves such seeming personal humiliation that he shrinks from it. He is apt to forget that when he reflects with pride upon the majesty of man, he thinks only of civilized man; he recalls his achievements, and his mind unconsciously reverts to

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the finest specimens of the human race. But let him cast his eye upon some of the lowest savages, mis-shapen in form, with speech no more intelligible than the chattering of a monkey, covered with filth, burrowing in the ground like a rabbit, without moral sense, without gratitude, rending the hand that feeds them, and then say whether the humiliation of such a relationship is not as great as that which would connect us with many of those domestic creatures who are the willing servants, companions, and often preservers of men. Besides, you must always remember what an immense interval separates us from these undesirable relations. Be they ever so objectionable, they are removed from us by hundreds of thousands of years, and we may rest assured that man will never again revert to these primitive forms.

Its real significance lies in the fact that whatever else he may be, he is part and parcel of the universe. We have, now, a reliable clue, by the aid of which we can intelligently study him. It becomes clear at once, that since he is so largely indebted to nature for his earlier development, his future growth will, in no small measure, depend upon his success in understand ing and acting in harmony with her. No matter how much he may have advanced beyond the point when he was solely dependent upon her, he cannot throw her off, altogether, without working useless injury to himself. It will then become his willing purpose to call her to his aid whenever she can assist him—not to look distrustfully upon her as an alien, but as a friend, and a friend ready to help—always with this limitation, however; that she cannot help if you persistently neglect or ignore her laws. You must keep within that circle, if you expect to use her.

Bear in mind that my inquiries now are confined to things within the certain scope of the human understanding. We are certain of the existence of pre-historic man. We are certain from the remains of him, and of the implements he used, found in drifts and deposits, that he was greatly inferior to some of his now living descendants. The stone age, the iron age, the brass age, names given to different periods to indicate,

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from the weapons and utensils he used, his progress in the arts, mark his advance in what we call civilization. The whole weight of evidence and analogy, tend too; to prove that his history has been a progressive one, and that the law of natural selection has been a powerful force, though not the only one, which has caused his advance.

Now of this we are reasonably sure. That other unknown forces may have been at work, besides those already discovered, it would be imprudent to deny. That man, millions of years ago, may have been a perfect being, that he grossly degenerated until the limit of degeneracy was reached, and then took a start in the other direction—well, you can believe this if you wish, but then, there is no evidence whatever to support it. As the descent is traced back it runs up to simpler and simpler forms.

With this, then, for our starting point, it is simply impossible to dissociate man from his earthly environment and read his history aright. With this key, see how much light is thrown upon one leading fact in human history.

Moralists and philosophers have deplored the irresistible inclination of men for war. Barbarous peoples are always fighting, or if not fighting planning each other's destruction. Civilized nations are not much better. Military activity has been and is universal, either in actual conflict or in preparation. Witness Europe, armed to the teeth to-day. This tendency to fight is by no means always prompted from a desire to redress wrongs or grievances. Spoliation, conquest, the actual love of fighting can alone account for the origin of many, I may say of most wars. Why is it that this occupation, with all its hardships, risks, and inevitable losses, has employed so much of the energies of man? Why is it that maxims of morality and systems of religion have been so powerless to check this evil?

Look into the world of nature and see what is going on there! War is its normal condition; the terrific struggle for existence renders this an inevitable necessity. The conflict is incessant, and is conducted without pity. Man inherits the

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same tendency, because he, too, is amenable to the same law. In his primitive days he is dependent solely upon unassisted nature for food; he knew nothing of agriculture. Natural productions were limited; so he too was compelled to fight for his share of them. There was no alternative; either death from starvation, or the willingness to face it to avoid that fate. As he advanced by laborious steps towards something better, and found that he could increase his store of food by converting nature to his use, by this discovery he acquired a great superiority, and undoubtedly some remission in the intensity of the struggle. He now began to aggregate in communities, and warfare became less the strife of individuals than of masses of individuals. In these conflicts the best endowed community would be victorious; either defeat, totally destroy, or absorb the others. When men had advanced so far in the arts and had acquired sufficient habits of industry to secure stores of food ample for their wants, with what nature herself furnished, without the necessity of making depredations upon others, they were still compelled to fight to defend their possessions; they would have fallen an easy prey to the covetous desires of others, had they ceased to be warlike. But if this necessity did not exist, the warlike spirit would still have survived. As prowess preserved them from destruction, men actually came to honor that above everything else. It was a badge of distinction, and the highest badge of distinction. The strongest and the most courageous man became the leader. Now men have always loved to be honored by their fellows, and I hope always will. What constitutes a claim to the esteem of our fellows varies with the age and with the race. There is no doubt, whatever, that in earlier times success in war was the surest, and it may be said with truth, the sole way of securing this esteem. And I think all will agree that it was rightly bestowed. Where skill and courage in fighting can alone preserve men from destruction, we rightly honor those who possess these qualities. So that war, after it had ceased to be solely a struggle for subsistence, continued to be the occupation of men, from choice, because the highest glory was only to be obtained in the pursuit of it.

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Is it surprising with this history, that it has filled so large a space in the annals of the world? The preservation of life, the strongest instinct that we possess, was originally dependent upon it. How thoroughly it must have been worked into the fibre of man, with such an origin, it is useless to explain. When added to this it was associated with the love of glory, and appealed also to the acquisitive instincts of the race, we may cease greatly to wonder that it has formed a favorite pursuit, even of civilized man.

The theory of descent offers a rational explanation of this seemingly irrational practice. But when we have got the explanation, it may be asked of what value is it? The fact itself is not changed by the discovery of the cause. Yes, but when we have discovered the cause of a thing we are in a condition to deal intelligently with it.

Assigning to man his place in nature, which the theory of descent requires, we can draw at least some definite conclusions from it. And this enables me to touch upon a branch of this subject very essential in any exposition of this theme.

It is admitted that man is greatly superior to the animals, that superiority varying with his more or less advanced stage in civilization. In what does this superiority consist? His corporal frame has changed very little from what it was in the earliest known remains of him. That has undergone but slight modifications during these long ages, when he was rising more and more to the ascendent. It is not here, then, that we must look for evidence of his growing supremacy. I need not defer the answer. That which separates man, today, so widely from the animal kingdom, is his *intelligence.* As soon as that began to appear, natural selection seized upon it with unerring precision, as the vital test, and the struggle then was transferred from the body to the brain, as the seat of mind, and has been waged upon this ground ever since. Those tribes whose operations were guided by the best intelligence, other things being equal, would be superior to those of less intelligence, and would be more certain to be preserved and extend their dominion. Those qualities which made them dominant, would,

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by the law of heredity, be transmitted to their offspring, for mental traits are as heritable as physical traits.

To illustrate—the improvidence of savages makes them peculiarly liable to the evils of famine. In times of plenty they gorge themselves with food, and take little thought for the morrow. A period of scarcity comes; they become emaciated with hunger; disease finds an easy entrance in their half-fed bodies, and they die off in large numbers. Now, if every other neighboring tribe is in exactly the same condition, the balance is preserved, and they suffer alike.[1] But if in one of them, some superior man should have discernment enough to see how the miseries of famine might be averted by laying by, in seasons of abundance, some store for the future, and could induce his people to make such provision; when the time of scarcity came around, that band, having food in plenty, would be superior to those who had not; their bodies being kept in vigor by proper nourishment, disease could less readily find a foothold among them, and if they chose to make war on their impoverished neighbors, would probably conquer them. The advantages of looking ahead being thus verified by results, other tribes must acquire it, or else perish in the unequal competition.

Such foresight is the result of intelligence, aided of course by experience. It is evidence of mental power, and natural selection seizes upon and perpetuates it. The power to invent new and better ways of doing things, to make a bow and arrow that will carry farther and with a surer aim; to set traps more certain to deceive and secure their prey; to devise stratagems by which the enemy may be more easily circumvented; all these and many other things give to the fortunate possessors, superiority, and are the outcome of superior brain. Now since man first began to think he has developed along this line, and has been departing further and further from his aboriginal state.

Moral qualities have in like manner been evolved, and as he emerges more and more from his primitive condition, these

[1] Bagehot's "Physics and Politics."

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play an important part in his development. Even more than the others these separate him still more widely from his early progenitors. So that man, from the earliest known remains of him to the present time, has been advancing, not by regular and unbroken stages, but slowly, with frequent interruptions, for long periods often stopped altogether; but still the law has been the law of progress, and as we see him to-day, in the most highly civilized communities, he is removed by an immense distance from his first beginnings.

His superiority then, being an intellectual and a moral superiority, everything which interferes with his full and free expansion in this direction will come to be looked upon with more and more abhorrence. War, which at one time concerned human progress, since superiority in it meant a general superiority, and those people best fitted for it were for the general weal best fitted to survive, has ceased to be the important factor it once was in promoting civilization. It now most seriously retards it. The more clearly this fact can be impressed upon mankind, the more certainly will there be created a public sentiment, which will discountenance it, and render it increasingly difficult to settle disputes or gratify the promptings of an ambition by this method. That the history of man, as read in the light of the law of evolution, will accomplish much toward this desired result, we have good reason to believe. That law teaches us that man has been receding more and more from his early type, and that his progress is measured by the distance which separates him from it. The most striking characteristic of the savage is his readiness to fight. Had that propensity retained the predominance that originally belonged to it, civilized man would never have existed. But the arts of industry gradually crept in, accumulations began, and industrial pursuits, from being discreditable occupations, fit only for slaves, have finally become the principal business of men. It is largely by their aid that progress, after it had received the first impulse, has been made. The arts of war and the arts of industry are antagonistic. The one was the principal business of our poor benighted ancestors, and having served

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its purpose, as this fact becomes more widely diffused, will be looked upon as a pursuit unworthy of enlightened man. We do not now look back to a primordial type as the goal of our ambition. Our ideal is in the future; progress points forward, not backward, and in the light of these new truths belligerency will be relegated back to those who know nothing better. This happy condition of things is not coming to-morrow or next day, but it will come the quicker from the knowledge we now possess as to how this warlike spirit has originated.

This does not imply that the struggle for existence will be at an end with the decline of war. That law is constant in its operation, but it is taking a new direction. The competition is becoming more and more industrial, and this factor is of constantly growing importance in modern life. Industrialism is a great civilizer, for without it there would be no commerce, and it is useless here to enlarge upon the important part commerce has played in inducing friendly relations among men. Habits of industry are peculiarly the characteristic of enlightened peoples. Savages know little of them, and indeed cannot emerge from their savage state until these begin to appear. But the more fully developed they are, the wider the interval that separates us from the past. So that the theory of descent inexorably demands, as a condition of progress, that there shall be a constantly growing divergence between primitive man and ourselves. Looked at in this light, I cannot see that the belief in such an origin is as obnoxious as to some people it seems to be. Instead of depressing us or exciting contempt it ought to inspirit us. For what must be the elastic energy of man that has enabled him to advance as he has! Compare him with what he once was, and we cannot but feel admiration and wonder at the possibilities of human growth.

We must not forget, however, though his superiority is a mental and a moral superiority, that these qualities reside and find expression in a living body. Speculate as we will as to their origin, their manifestations to us appear through the medium of a living organism. That mental states and moral

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states are closely allied to the condition of that organism cannot be denied by any person who looks with an unprejudiced eye upon the habits and practices of others.

When the tide of life is high, that is when the organs of the body perform their functions easily without conscious effort; how much more easily and clearly we can think; we feel kindly towards our fellows. Our benevolent impulses are then at the full, and this well being is not only a source of pleasure to ourselves, but diffuses pleasure to all those who come in contact with us. High spirits, as they are called, depend upon good health, and good health means freedom from disease, the body in a state of normal activity. This desired condition cannot be attained if we neglect and despise the body as something unworthy of our attention.

The struggle for existence means the more or less perfect adaptation of the organism to its environment. A perfect adaptation, among other things, means a high functional activity, and this law which governs the world of nature is in like manner applicable to man. He, too, must be in accord with his environment, if he expects the completest physical growth. This is the link which binds him to nature by so strong a tie. A process of evolution has developed his frame. Man originally was absorbed in bodily activities. When mental and moral forces came to play, his energies then began to be diverted in other directions. But growth here does not mean that the lower must be neglected in order that his entire attention may be concentrated in the development of the higher. Previous theories and teachings have not only encouraged this idea, but have directly taught it. I am inclined to think that a recognition of the fact that a disordered condition of the bodily organism interferes with man's full growth in those other things which have given him so complete an ascendant will tend to remedy this evil, and that with the improved health of mankind we may look to a proportionate increase in the sum of human happiness.

The theory of evolution, with which the doctrine of descent is closely allied, provides for the continuous growth and development of men; the law is from the simple to the complex.

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If one asks how that life originated upon which this law has been operating, we can give you no answer. We do not know how it originated. That is something which has eluded human research, and perhaps always will. It is useless, certainly, for the purposes of this paper to speculate upon it, and I only allude to it because I know that some must be asking that question, and might possibly think it an evasion, if I made no reference to it. Ignorance upon this is admitted without hesitation. But we know that life exists, and that it exists in infinite variety, in all stages of development and structure; and the purpose of human inquiry on this subject is to find out how that variety has been produced, what laws have operated to bring about these results. If in these researches any light is thrown upon man's origin and growth we are entitled and should not hesitate to use it, for the more complete and certain our knowledge concerning him, the more confidently can we trace out the path for his guidance in the future.

It is, indeed, a most astonishing fact that reasoning man should have grown out of such beginnings. Some undiscovered impulse must have been received at the time, marking the beginning of the transition which now separates him so widely from his animal ancestors. But while it is difficult to see what operating cause aided natural selection in bridging over this wide chasm, that it was actually accomplished, the whole analogy of nature tends to confirm. That species, marked as true species under the old classification, have been developed one from the other, is a truth as well established now as any knowledge that we have pertaining to the world of nature. The interval that separates the ape from the lowest savage is less than that which separates the lowest savage from the highest man; and as no one pretends that savages must be excluded from the human family, notwithstanding the wide divergence that exists between them and civilized man, so analogy affords no justification for believing that the interval between the ape and the savage is an impossible one.

The applications of this theory, as an aid in understanding the relations of men in the political and social state, are of very

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positive value. While the law is the law of progress, it is not maintained that the progress admits of no interruptions. It is frequently interrupted, and not infrequently stopped altogether. We can see now how in the earlier stages of his existence authority is of the first consequence. The habit of obedience was one of the hardest lessons for primitive man to learn.[2] Without it he could not act in concert, and his strength was dissipated in a series of disconnected efforts. Law had then no existence. The word and command of the chief alone exercised control over men. No matter how despotically that authority was exercised, it was better than no authority at all. The advantages of united action being verified by results, its influence was gradually extended to their relations with other tribes; beginning, in all probability with those related in some degree by the ties of blood. Agreements were entered into between the several chiefs, by which the bands would unite together for a common purpose. Here, not one individual, but several decided the action of the rest. The advantages of union being still further exemplified by this extension of it, the circle would go on widening—not always by negotiation, but often by conquest, too,—until a coherent nation is evolved. Success would strengthen the authority of the leader who secured it; but while he would still be dominant, he would, with the increasing development of men, be compelled to share his power in a more or less degree with his subordinate chiefs. On critical occasions a council of all the tribe would be called, in order to insure the utmost unanimity of action. This would give rise to discussion, "and of all the forces that have secured liberty to men, freedom of discussion has been the most potent." But its occasional exercise by a people, and its habitual exercise are two quite different things, and in the history of men it is only on rare occasions, and when the conditions have been singularly favorable, that the latter was possible. Despotism was an original necessity, and with some peoples the necessity still exists. But evolution teaches us that what was a necessity and an advantage at one time may be a positive

[2] Bagehot's "Physics and Politics."

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evil at another. "The whole history of civilization is strewn with creeds and institutions, which were invaluable at first and deadly afterwards." Because man has had to be held in the leash, and because his best interests were served by such control, it is a fatal error to suppose that such a government must always be the best adapted to his wants. What was the French Revolution but the mighty throes of a nation endeavoring to cast off this early bondage? The time had come in the growth of that people when the old servitude was no longer possible. The 'bands of custom,' since the rulers would not relax them, had to be broken with violence. We know the excesses that marked the course of that memorable convulsion. How could it be otherwise? The restraint of centuries was suddenly taken off, and in that wild moment, the early brutal instincts of man came out. The violence of the sudden release so disordered man that he reverted to his savage days, and rioted in scenes of cruelty and blood.

Democracy in its fullest sense is essentially a growth of these latter times, and is still confined to a few highly-favored nations. That it will diffuse itself more and more, and penetrate into countries that have long withstood its influence, we can scarcely doubt. For apart from the effect of example, the intellectual and moral expansion of man depends upon the practical recognition of the principle that increased freedom of thinking and freedom of acting are indispensable to this end. His growth as we have already said lies in this direction, and anything which seriously interferes with it must sooner or later give way before it. That he has been receding and will continue to recede from his early type his past history confirms; and as his early conditions required restraint, the farther he is removed from it the less will this be necessary, and the less of it will be tolerated. The power of self control, so vital to self government, will increase, and will increase with the judicious exercise of this responsibility.

Now this principle once recognized, it will become the business of those who govern to see to it that this tendency of man is not unduly restrained, for otherwise, there will come the in-

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evitable revolt against such unprogressive government, and it is certain to be overwhelmed in the conflict. The law of the 'survival of the fittest' still operates. That law requires that the individual, or the nation, to succeed must be in harmony with its environment—that environment will enlarge more and more in the direction of freedom, and the ruler who fails to conform to these changing conditions will disappear from the scene. A practical recognition of this principle will be resisted by those who govern on purely selfish grounds. Men will not surrender power if they can help it; but when the alternative is offered, either some abatement, or its entire loss, there will not be much hesitancy as to the choice. On the other hand, guided by this new knowledge, a wise statemanship will see that, while the current runs in the direction of freedom, it must not be allowed to run too fast. For much of it cannot be borne at once, without the whole being endangered. The approach to it has been intermittent. If this law is too radically changed, the whole political fabric may be threatened with destruction. A conservative force must exist; no less than a radical one to preserve the cohesion of society. It will be long years before the savage taint is entirely eliminated; there will always be the liability to temporary reversion, and the steps forward must, therefore, never be too far in advance of the positions already gained, otherwise the cohesion may be loosened, and social and political anarchy follow.

Man's moral growth may be as confidently looked forward to as his intellectual growth—indeed they must go hand in hand. It is undeniable that whatever may be our shortcomings in this respect, an enormous interval separates civilized man from uncivilized man. The savage delights in cruelty for its own sake; he is impassive in the presence of suffering; he has little respect for the rights of his neighbors; he plunders and appropriates without misgivings of any sort. Conscience is dead within him; he has some sort of religion, but it is a religion of terror; the evil spirit is the overshadowing deity.

That this description does not apply to civilized man will

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not be disputed for an instant. The social state, while offering freer and freer scope for development, does so by showing men how dependent they are upon one another. The bonds of sympathy are constantly widening, and the brotherhood of man—the dream of the philosopher and the sage—will some day be realized.

Religion must always play an important part in this progressive growth. It answers to certain imperishable needs of men, and cannot be destroyed. But it must like all else obey the law of evolution. A religion of omens and incantations is scorned by us. A religion in which terror is a principal element should be no less repugnant. It is out of harmony with that principle of sympathy and love, upon which the growth of humanity will, in the future, so largely depend.

Edward Burgess.

Article XXII.

The Theology of Mathew Arnold.

The purpose of this essay does not include any exposition of the literary merits of Matthew Arnold, in which respect he excels more than in any other, but merely contemplates his theological opinions, for substance and method, and for excellencies and defects.

His standpoint may be indicated negatively, in that he rejects both Supernaturalism and Rationalism,—not only the orthodox Rationalism, which teaches that salvation is to be had by creed, and philosophical opinions, and right knowledge of the Godhead; but also the heterodox Rationalism, as of Strauss and Baur.

Positively, Mr. Arnold professes to derive his doctrines from a sort of intuition or *inner sense of truth;* which faculty is the result of culture, character, experience; and is the source and test of truth. There is no other revelation than that which

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comes in the natural exercise of this faculty. The Bible is the best expression of the inner sense of truth, and is the great interpreter and stimulant thereof. It is literature and not dogma. As to the origin of the New Testament, there was oral tradition for a half century or more, then the Gospels, one by one, were written probably from materials furnished by the alleged authors, and edited by others. After 120 A. D., there were a few changes, but the text was fixed as early as 175 A. D. The chief Epistles of Paul, and 1 Peter, and 1 John are genuine.

The good faith of the New Testament writers is above suspicion; but they often misunderstood Jesus, and misapplied the Old Testament.

On the whole, the importance of the Bible is beyond estimate; its beneficence is incomparable and eternal. The interpretation of the Bible is by the inner sense. This faculty in the individual is authority; but in the multitude of cultivated people it is the *Zeitgeist*, and is of greater authority. It has authority both in questions of opinion, and in questions of fact.

God is the stream of tendency by which all things fulfil their being, an influence, a real power that makes for righteousness—the greatest of realities and forces, it governs the course of humanity. There is not even a low degree of probability that God is a *person* who thinks and loves. The more intelligent Jews did not believe in the unity and personality of God. "The doctrine of the great personal First Cause jars with the whole idea of Bible-Religion."

As to miracles. There is an adequate induction against them—an induction not yet complete, but one that is enough more and more to satisfy the mind, and to satisfy an increasing number of men, that miracles do not happen. The miracle has great evidential value with the vulgar and simple, but none with the wise. The miracle-stories are accounted for as follows: There were many diseases due to sins, and which were curable by natural means, and were, doubtless, cured by Jesus. Of what is beyond this, the origin is in the Old Testament prophecies, traditions, and the common misunderstanding of

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Jesus, by his associates and followers. In these days *Zeitgeist* is spontaneously giving up all regard for miracles.

Christology:—Jesus came from the Eternal, was sent by God; he came to reveal righteousness. [Of course the readers will understand these phrases in harmony with Arnold's method of speech.] Jesus is the Messiah because he alone took a way, obscurely indicated in the Old Testament, and the only possible and successful way for the accomplishment of the Messiah's function; which is to bring in everlasting righteousness. He was a wonderful character, transcending his time and his disciples; with incomparable lucidity and penetration he planted his profound views of thought in their memories. In his words is sweet reason in the highest degree, consummate justice, perfect balance, unerring felicity, nothing exaggerated, distorted or false. These are his great works.

Of Anthropology, Mr. Arnold's doctrine is optimistic. Man is good. But, while righteousness is the easiest thing to know, it is the hardest thing to do. Man needs to be saved from ignorance, vulgarity, superstition, Philistinism, unrighteousness.

This last sentence defines the nature of salvation. It is further defined as righteousness, and joy and peace. The end of life is happiness, and the only means to it is righteousness. The means of salvation is Christ alone. Righteousness finds its sure ground in personal devotion to Christ, in believing that Christ came from God, following Christ, and loving him. And in the happiness resulting from this, righteousness finds its mightiest sanction. In another expression, salvation is attained by culture: a complete and harmonious development of the higher faculties; by knowledge and experience of all that is best. Religion is a necessary element of culture. Its purpose is conduct. Metaphysics has nothing to do with it. It is ethics heightened, lit up by feeling; is morality touched by emotion. Prayer is a part of it. Prayer is an energy of aspiration toward the Eternal that makes for righteousness, and therefore nothing can be more efficacious, more right, more real than prayer.

Eschatology is very briefly stated. He denies the resurrec-

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tion of the body, the Second Advent, and the General Judgment. The immortality of the soul, taught by Jesus is probably the same as righteousness; but let us hope and aspire, and trust Jesus, whose sense was deeper than ours; and our sense of life accompanying righteousness will probably rise to the sense of being inextinguishable. (Lit. and Dog., chap. xii, 4.) From which we may infer that Mr. Arnold had, at times, a dim hope of personal immortality. He generally seems to have none at all.

Such are the doctrines of Matthew Arnold on the chief topics of theology, and in his very words, or the equivalent of them. He did not himself organize his thought after this fashion; and perhaps would dislike to be set down on a chart. Nevertheless, this is the framework, or scheme, of his theology.

I will next note certain excellencies, and later, certain defects in Arnold's scheme, as judged by the Liberal-Christian standards; and again, certain defects in his method, as judged by the laws of logic.

First he rejects the Orthodox doctrines of plenary inspiration, and verbal inspiration; of inspired and infallible writers; of a scientific canon to be interpreted as science; of a revelation complete, to which nothing can be added; of an interpretation fixed by custom in accordance with arbitrary Orthodox conceptions; also the doctrine that the authority of some truths rests on miracles alone; and that by the authority of miracles we are not only justified, but even compelled to accept dogmas which are "most palpably at war with common sense and experience." Such, apparently, are the doctrines of Trinity, Second Advent, Judgment Day, and that which regards salvation as mechanical, magical or vicarious, and conditioned on creed or dogma, or logical abilities, or on the acceptance of certain metaphysical conceptions.

The arguments he uses in this attack on Orthodoxy are of course drawn from rational considerations, or from his inner sense of truth; and in substance are generally such as the Universalists have been familiar with for a half-century, more or less. But in a sense they are original with him, and es-

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pecially in their setting, and in the literary force with which they are stated. His negative or destructive work has certainly helped to prepare the way for the kingdom of reasonableness. For which boon, however severely we may criticise him in other regards, we should be grateful.

And still more, when we observe that he has not gone to the other extreme. An ordinary man whose mind is free enough from ancient superstitions to attack Orthodox Theology, and who finds himself winning an easy victory over that great power which so long held undisputed sway in the Christian world, and who has moreover got some hold on modern criticism and the scientific method, is very likely to pride himself too much on his success. His victory contributes mightily to his self respect and confidence, and he sighs for more worlds to conquer; there is no conservatism left in him. He has acquired such momentum that he is carried quite beyond any proper stopping place. Not so, however, with Matthew Arnold—or not much so—he sees also the error of the heterodox rationalists "who in the first place think that for every question that can be started, an answer can be had; and in the second place have a theory that all things must be made to suit." He finds them "dealing with evidence in a fashion that no one would ever dream of who had not a theory to warp him." He criticises some characteristic work of Volkmar, Zeller, Strauss, and Baur; and declares that the Germans have great learning, but they lack common sense, and "delicate perception; they are blunt-edged, unhandy, infelicitous" — and, what is worse for them, he proves it.

He has also more positive excellencies. His doctrine of culture, the harmonious and complete development of the higher faculties; his doctrine that character is the prime consideration and purpose of life, that it is religion, the kingdom of God, the reign of righteousness; his doctrine of prayer, and its efficacy; and that "culture is to be obtained by much familiarity with the Bible — by reading and re-reading the Gospels continually until we catch something of their sweet reasonableness;" that "culture cannot be obtained any other way;" that

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"the indispensableness of the Bible cannot be exaggerated;" that Jesus Christ is the chief power in true civilization, beyond all comparison with others; that his words contain no error, no exaggeration nor distortion, and though misunderstood for centuries they shine with peculiar light, and shall shine forever till the whole world is enlightened; that salvation is to be fonnd in him and him alone; that the experience of his religion, that of following him and loving him justifies his principles, interprets his words with even better and better meaning, and furnishes the mightiest sanction for righteousness; that experience is necessary to the apprehension of the content of religion and of the evidence for it;—"Attempt to get along without Israel's God, and you will find out your mistake"—"Attempt to reach righteousness by any way except that of Jesus, and you will find out your mistake"—"Jesus gives the the method and secret by which alone is righteousness possible"—and that the knowledge of these things is not the critical knowledge, but something quite different.—The critics "go on the supposition that man's first concern is to know the truth, and that to know the truth about the Bible is to know that much of it is legendary, and much of it is of uncertain authorship. We say on the other hand that no one knows the truth about the Bible, who does not know how to enjoy the Bible; and that he who takes legend for history, and who imagines Moses or Isaiah to have written the books which they did not write, but who knows how to enjoy the Bible deeply, is nearer the truth about the Bible, than the man who can pick it all to pieces but who cannot enjoy it"— in all these doctrines, even after we have made due allowance for his different meanings of words, there is much wisdom in Mr. Arnold.

Another distinguisning feature of Mr. Arnold's work is his optimism. In strong contrast with Orthodox pessimism as it is in the doctrines of the devil, of total depravity, and endless hell; and with the heterodox pessimism of nihilism and materialism, is the doctrine of a real power which makes for righteousness and happiness; that in general, nature is good, man is good, and life is worth living.

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Turning now to the defects in Arnold's thought, as judged by the ordinary Liberal Christian, I will be confined mostly to generalizations. Arnold's philosophy of life is best expressed by the word *Culture.* But while he is notably in advance of an Orthodox doctrine that "man is saved by right knowledge of the Godhead," or again by ritual, yet he falls short of the best Christain philosophy. Culture, according to the Christian, is not the great thing of which religion is a part. We can almost say religion is the great thing of which culture is a part. Principal Shairp says "Matthew Arnold does not entirely clear himself of the charge that he seeks religion for culture's sake—which is aesthetics and not religion at all. One can not so get religion. Thus if one seek culture as a chief end, he cannot attain it. *Seek first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you.* In other words, Matthew Arnold's starting point is the perfection of self—the selfish philosophy. True, he advances many noble maxims, and proposes as the end of culture to make reason and the Kingdom of God to prevail; even sees that isolated self-culture is impossible; that we cannot progress toward perfection unless we take our fellow beings along with us. But these true and unselfish maxims are advanced not because they are simply good in themselves, but because they are clearly seen to be necessary to our perfection. After all, Matthew Arnold is an Athenian."

Again, whether his religion be true or not, it has fewer and weaker motives than the Christian religion. For, Christians have a personal God whom we love and by whom, omnipotent and unchanging, we are loved. Thus Christianity has in the range and strength of its motives an immense advantage. Mr. Arnold thinks his scheme is more potent by reason of its experimental certainty. But he forgets that the Christian has the same experimental certainty, and of the same facts; and beyond what Mr. Arnold can have, the Christian has his faith in a great personal Father, from whose love and care we cannot escape.—And on the other hand, history gives an induction of many instances, all on one side, that a religion with-

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out a personal God is shortlived. People soon lose their interest in it. Which would seem to cofirm the statement that the Arnold scheme lacks motive.

In another respect, the same lack is to be seen: he professes to walk by sight and not by faith. He will believe only what he has experienced and known. He will not accept any authority, Though he does in one connection say "we do well to trust Jesus," yet in fact he does not accept anything on the authority of Jesus. One would suppose that Mr. Arnold having had experience, and finding Jesus without flaw so far as known, could safely trust him as to some things not yet experienced. But no. Mr. Arnold diminishes faith. But the world needs to have its faith magnified; and Mr. Arnold would take away that by which religion has been able to survive, and to lead men toward righteousness and holiness.

Thirdly, some logical consideration of Mr. Arnold's method. First, his use of the Parallel Argument. I quote a single example only—He discusses the question whether there were two clearances of the Temple, by Jesus, or only one. There are two stories in the Gospels, and they are in several regards alike. Now, whether there were two occasions or not, makes no difference to the Christian, and we may therefore, I hope, receive his argument without bias. It is as follows: "The fourth Gospel puts the clearance at the beginning of Christ's career. The Synoptics put it at the end. Probably the Synoptics are right, . . be that as it may . . if one is right the other is wrong. . . Not at all [says Arnold sarcastically]. The same striking incident with all its circumstances really happened, we are told, twice. Now this seems surprising. But some who are lovers of the Bible may be inclined to try and believe it . . on the ground of *a priori* possibility." Crumble to pieces, sooner or later, such explanations will. That which may convince a man, once and forever of their hollowness, and save him much loss of time and distress of mind is the application of such a piece of experience as the following.

"Some years ago, a newly-married couple were during their

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honeymoon, travelling in the Alps. They made an excursion to Mount Blanc; the bride met an accident there and perished before her husband's eyes. The other day strange to relate, we had just this touching story over again, each incident repeated. . . But ours is a time of broad daylight. The matter drew attention; and in a few days the telegraph announced that the second accident never really occured at all. It was merely a doubling of the first. Man's imagination reiterates in this way things that strike it; and loose relation narrates the double fact seriously. As our experience widens, it brings us more and more proof that this is so; and one day a signal example is decisive with us. The Mount Blanc story or some story of its kind, comes with a sort of magic to make the scales fall from our eyes. . . It convinces us . . and in spite of the *a priori* possibility that the Temple was cleared twice, we cannot any longer believe in the double clearance even though we would."

Such, almost word for word is the argument. Argument by parallel case is worth something in Logic—very much more in Rhetoric; and is likely to be taken in its rhetorical rather than in its logical value.—Let us continue the method and so test it. In the history of the Church in America there are certain two biographies remarkably alike. It appears that there were two men of exactly the same name, each was a member of a family of eleven children, each was precocious in his youth, was sent to college, was in due time appointed tutor in the college; each was then called to be Pastor in a church where his mother's father had lately been serving, each was a Calvinist theologian and a metaphysician of great abilities, and held the same doctrines in general; each was distinguished for intense piety and high character and for plain and powerful preaching; each was dismissed from his charge, on account of opinions; each then took another pastorate in a retired place; each was then elected President of a College; and each, on the first Sunday of the year of his death, preached a sermon from the same text: "This year thou shalt die;" and a little later each one was dead.—I give these incidents as they are found, without attempting to verify the minor particulars.

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It is manifestly not suffcient to say: 'This is a time of broad daylight; and now that the scales are off our eyes, we cannot believe there were two men named Jonathan Edwards, even though we would.' For the records are fuller in these days, and the remainders of the biographies are preserved, and we know there were two. History, indeed furnishes many examples of duplicate stories; but they prove nothing in this connection. The true value of Mr. Arnold's argument is to put us on guard; to show us that the stories *may be* of one occasion. And we still must examine the real exidence to see *whether they are so or not.* The real evidence may, or may not, decide the question, but surely the parallel case does not decide it.

Again, Mr. Arnold, while he proposes and desires to reject the *a priori* method of judging a question of fact, yet it is such an easy, plausible short cut to a knowledge of history, that he often relies on it when it is useful for his theory, and even though positive evidence may he had. For example: 'The Apostles were likely to attribute miracles to the wonderful half-understood personage of Jesus; therefore they did so, and their miracle stories are untrue.' (Lit. and Dog. V. 4; God and Bible I. 3; Last Essays, 2.) This is the same jump as before: from *they may be* untrue, to *they are* untrue. Has not he also 'a theory to warp him'?

But, concerning those miracle stories that the Apostles might be expected to tell of Jesus: would not the invented stories bear some trace of the peculiar Messiah they had expected? The King-Messiah that was to come, would call down fire from heaven as Elijah did, and as the Sons of Zebedee wished Jesus to do. But Jesus does not do that, nor *anything of that kind.* He does not "slay the wicked with the breath of his mouth" nor does he *any such thing.* It would seem quite remarkable that the Apostles who according to Mr. Arnold manufactured the miracle elements of the Gospels, should manufacture them out of Jesus's notions and not out of their own, and especially when in other cases they show themselves extraordinarily tenacious of prejudices.

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Mr. Arnold's further statement makes it even harder for us to conceive how those stories originated. He says that in the very day of Jesus, his disciples thought that he did miracles, and based their belief on miracles. (Lit. and Dog. VI, 2.) Jesus tried to make them rely on spiritual evidence but they thought he wished them to rely on miracles; and "from the first the crowning miracles of the resurrection and ascension were firmly fixed in their belief." (Lit. and Dog. II, 1 and 2.) Yet he calls these stories legends. The belief then explains the legends of the resurrection and the ascension. But what explains the belief? The reply is: Jesus had foretold his resurrection — meaning by this that his influence should continue after his death;—and when he was dead, the Apostles remembered the prophecy, and interpreted it literally, as they had not done before; but now in great distress of soul they catch at this straw, and to save themselves from perishing, they fancy that the prophecy has become true and that he has risen. That is to say, he did not rise, and the Apostles were there with ample opportunity to know that he did not rise, yet for their comfort of soul they fancied that he did rise, and with such vigorous and vivid imagination that they were fully convinced of it, and "from the first, this crowning miracle was firmly fixed in their belief." Or, the Apostles, during their intercourse with Jesus, having found from day to day that Jesus was "the very last sort of Messiah that they expected" (Lit. and Dog., III, 1), and seeing him rejected by the world, and unable to save himself from death, did not as we might expect, give way to grief and dispair, and abandon their experiment, and in sorrow return to their fishing; but by some means they were wonderfully buoyed up and encouraged, and made so confident that they were ready themselves to undertake the cause their great master had failed in! —and that too with such precipitate faith as to lose their senses and to fully believe that they repeatedly saw him alive, and talked with him, and ate with him; when, in their sober senses, if they had any after that time, they knew it wasn't so at all! — And yet Mr. Arnold does not believe in miracles!

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Without entering into the argument on this question, we may remark that the Church is built on the rock of the Resurrection; and on the same rock many a Rationalist craft has gone to pieces. Apparently Matthew Arnold's will fare no better.

Mr. Arnold has not cleared up his mind on the subject of miracles: "Suppose I could change the pen with which I write this, into a pen-wiper, I should not thus make what I write any truer or more convincing." In this proposition and its elaboration (see Lit. and Dog. V, 3.) he is attacking what he thinks to be the ordinary doctrine of the Christian as to the evidential value of miracles. The proposition really contains two propositions which must be explained separately. As to the first: of course, if a statement is true, no miracle can "make it truer," nor less true; and if it is false, no miracle can make it true. Did any one ever hold that a miracle makes anything true or more true or less true? If so, we shall certainly not defend him against Mr. Arnold.

As to the other proposition, here and elsewhere many times affirmed or implied, that a miracle cannot (except with the vulgar) make anything more credible or convincing: that a miracle cannot rightly commend a doctrine to our minds, is a very different proposition, and may be discussed. The ques- is not, whether there are any miracles; but whether, if there are any, they are good for anything as evidence.

In order to understand what is a good argument in Mr. Arnold's mind, I quote, abbreviating, one of his favorite courses of reasoning: 'Jesus has the way unto righteousness, the secret of righteousness: therefore he comes from the power that makes for righteousness, and is the offspring of God.' Mr. Arnold says this is a good argument; and its conclusion is true beyond a doubt. 'Its premises are directly connected with its conclusion, and are demonstrative.' If now we translate a certain Christian argument into the form of that which is so commended, we have: Jesus performs miracles, has supernatural power unto righteousness, and so governs the course of humanity that men fulfil their being; therefore he comes

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from the supernatural "power that makes for righteousness," and is the offspring of God 'who governs the affairs of humanity so that men fulfil their being' (see above, on the nature of God.)—Now this is clearly just as good argument as Mr. Arnold's; in form it does not differ from his, and in substance it differs only by the word supernatural in premise and in conclusion. But apparently Mr. Arnold would condemn it. To put it in short: Jesus has natural power unto righteousness, therefore he comes from the Righteous One, is a good argument; and Jesus has supernatural power unto righteousness, and therefore he comes from the Supernatural Righteous One, is not a good argument. Is not this merely a case of prejudice against the word *supernatural*?

One source of logical error in Mr. Arnold is that he strains his inductions. He has, for instance, examined many miracle-stories outside the Bible, and some inside the Bible, and can prove most of them to be untrue. From this he confidently concludes that they are all untrue. That would be good reasoning if all the miracle-stories belonged to the same class, in all important respects. But so long as a large body of able and candid men claim that certain miracles are peculiar both as to their nature and as to their circumstances, so long the induction does not apply, until these claims are overthrown. It is bad logic, as Joseph Butler long ago showed, to interpret by the general rule, that which claims to be special, without first examining the specialty. No answer or insinuation will do, in place of such an examination. It is not sufficient to assert that there is no good reason for distinguishing between the miracles of the Popes, Saints and Relics on the one hand, and those of the New Testament on the other. (Lit. and Dog. V, 3.) And it is not quite just to compare the Apollo-myth with the Jesus-myth, as if one were no better authenticated than the other. (God and the Bible, II, 4.)

Finally one more remarkable fact in Mr. Arnold's historical criticism is his use of the subjective test of truth. This is the vice of the Hegelians. We have space for a single illustration. When a critic in the Spectator asked Mr. Arnold how we are

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to know that Israel meant what he said, when he said, 'righteousness is salvation;' and did not mean what he said, when he said, 'God talks, and thinks, and loves,' but was speaking figuratively, by personification, — Arnold replied: "Surely because in the one case he is on the ground of experience where we can follow him; and in the other, he is not." (God and Bible, III, 7.) In other form: Israel said righteousness is salvation; and I know that this is his literal opinion, because, in my experience, I find that righteousness is *really* salvation. And again: Israel said God talks, and, thinks and loves, is a personal Being; and I know this is not Israel's literal opinion, because God has never talked to me.—Here we have a right to complain that "the premises are not directly connected with the conclusion."

If the question were: Did God talk to Israel? then my experience of His talking or not talking to me would be a part of an induction which after gathering the experience of many men would properly bear on the question: whether God also talked with Israel. For He would probably do with Israel as He is accustomed to do with others; and in this argument the premise is directly connected with the conclusion. But the question before Mr. Arnold and the critic was not whether *in fact* God talked or not, but: whether *Israel believed* that God is personal, and that He does talk and think and love. On this question we might reason inductively: many people have believed that God talks, and thinks and loves, and therefore we have some reason to think that Israel so believed, and hence that he "spoke literally, and meant what he said when he said, God talks and thinks and loves." But when our premises are in our personal experience and our conclusion in Israel's opinions, the connection between them is somewhat indirect; and the logic is all the more surprising when it appears in a book, one of the purposes of which is to show that men's opinions do not commonly harmonize with their *own* experience, to say nothing of the experience of other men who may live two or three thousand years distant in time.

In conclusion, however, we should note that these defects,

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and many others indeed which are not here set down, in Matthew Arnold's reasoning are not the chief facts about him. He does not pretend to be a theologian or even a logician. And while his humble pretensions do not atone for his errors, yet he must not be judged from this negative side alone. He worked by intuition, and insight, and impulse, and sentiment. Within his range he was finely intelligent of many things, and when we add the quality of his motive, and purpose or moral character in general, we are able to say that he was not far from the Kingdom—indeed, I think, very much nearer the Kingdom than many professing Christians are.

Moreover, certain of his principles and methods, rightly understood and legitimately followed lead directly to Christianity. His experience of Christ's spirit justifies a larger and profounder faith than he has in him. And he half apprehends it at times; but never makes use of it. More specially, Mr. Arnold appealing to experience and observation, knows: "that there is a power not of ourselves that makes for righteousness;" that happiness belongs to righteousness; and that Jesus comes from the power that makes for righteousness, and he alone leads to righteousness and happiness.

But inquire just what in the strictest sense of the words experience and observation he "knows." He has at one time and another seen a set of facts followed by righteousness, and has perhaps experienced a power moving them that way; but he has *inferred* that it is the same power in different cases; he has *inferred the unity* of the power that makes for righteousness. So, he has seen happiness accompanying righteousness a few times, and he infers it is always so. He has seen and experienced that Jesus has led to righteousness sometimes, and he infers the general rule.

Now these inferences are so clearly implied in his experience, or so certainly indicated, that he is entitled to them. But if inferences are admitted at all, then others as directly connected may also claim acceptance. Thus: the only powers known in our experience to make for righteousness and happiness, and concerning whose personality our experience can tes-

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tify, are personal powers. We must therefore suppose that God is personal—unless we *go outside our experience* for our notion of the kind of power that makes for righteousness. So again all powers that regularly *make* for something are intelligent; and if they make for *righteousness*, they have conscience; and if for *happiness*, they have love. Here is that direct connection between premise and conclusion; and here we get the content of our notions from experience only. But in doing so we have come to the Christian doctrine of God, as an intelligent, righteous and loving person. And so we might go on and obtain other doctrines from Mr. Arnold's principles and by his very methods.

It is a characteristic of the more sober Agnostics that for a while they reason well enough; but suddenly they stop thinking. They say, and for a moment, mean "trust Jesus," and "trust experience," but they do not see that thereby they are committed to the essentials of Christianity, and are bound to be Christians. *G. T. Knight.*

General Review.

The Present Number and Condition of the Jews.

Readers of the Quarterly are generally aware, we presume, that in response to a letter sent out by the proprietors of *The American Hebrew*, last winter, there appeared in that paper of April 14, a large number of replies from leading non-Jews, condemning that prejudice against the Jews solely because they are Jews, which has led to refusal of their entertainment at hotels and summer resorts, the exclusion of their children from various private schools, and other forms of ostracism, at the demand of Christian patrons. The writers also bear testimony to the conduct of the Jews in business and social life as in no sense below the standard attained by the average non-Jew. While some of the replies are perhaps excessively laudatory, the writers as a whole are moderate in their utterances, and some very wisely dis-

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criminate by showing that there are Jews—and Jews; which is the same as saying that they are just like every other branch of the human race, no nation monopolizing either the good or the bad. And the almost uniform testimony is that discrimination should be made against people, not on account of their race, or their religious belief, but on account of their personal offensiveness. College presidents, preachers, statesmen and editors, have done no little good service to a much abused people by calling general attention to the unchristian character and hatefulness of race prejudice.

The history of the Jews is unlike that of any other people on the earth. Once a mighty nation, now scattered among all the nations; once dictating one law to millions, now the subjects of a large variety of laws; but amid all changes keeping themselves as to their domestic life, a distinct and separate people. It is commonly reputed that the Jews number seven millions of the total of fourteen hundred millions of people on the globe. Probably this is an underestimate of their real numbers, although they have been estimated as low as five millions; but Herzog reckons that at the lowest they number twelve millions. In Europe, where statistics are more trustworthy than elsewhere, the estimate is put at five millions. If this is correct, then Herzog is doubtless right in repudiating as too low, the aggregate of two millions in all the world outside of Europe. In the United States the Jewish population is about seven hundred and fifty thousand. In Palestine the increase is wonderful, being from eight thousand in 1841, to seventy thousand (about as many as returned from the Babylonian captivity,) in 1888. Doubtless this is largely due to the continued wholesale expulsion of Jews from Russia.

The Rev. Dr. Gracey, of Buffalo, N. Y., has an admirable article in *The Missionary Review of the World*, for April, entitled, "The Jew in the Nineteenth Century," from which we draw freely for several very interesting facts. He claims that a great and remarkable change has come over the Jew within the last half-century. Prior to that time he was inert and feeble. To-day he attracts wider attention, influences more people, exerts more legislative power, controls more money than he did in the days of David or Solomon. In government Jews are "ministers of finance, ministers of education, peers of the realm, mayors of great cities, senators in the assembly, close counsellors of kings." Of painters, philosophers, poets, professors, physicians, editors, lawyers, members of parliament, bankers, the eminent in each class includes a modern Jew. Except in Russia, the Jews

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enjoy civil equality and all the rights of citizens. It is estimated by many that in a brief period they will occupy the foreign seats of justice. Out of twelve hundred students of law at Berlin, six hundred are Jews. The Council of that city, and other Councils are already ruled by a Jewish majority, and all the offices are in the gift of Jews. They have the best and largest shops in Germany, have obtained the best estates, and have ousted the oldest families from their patrimonial possessions. This is reported to be true of Holland also.

The Jew is in the Senate of France and in the Chamber of Deputies. He has been Premier, and also leader of the opposition. In the person of Lord Beaconsfield he left his impress on Great Britain; in Judah P. Benjamin he was able and influential in Confederate councils during the rebellion; and in the person of August Belmont, he marshalled the hosts of the Democratic party in 1878. Everywhere he is the chief banker; no civilized nation having failed to feel his influence in monetary matters; and no European power would dare risk the issue of war to-day, until he knew that Jew bankers would float the loan necessary for the conduct of the campaign. The liberal press of Germany is almost wholly under Jewish control. The learned Rabbis publish many journals in Europe, and the power of their press is felt in political, scientific and theological circles. "The two leading papers of Rome, Italy, were, and possibly still are, edited by Jews."

They are a prolific race, as their continuance during centuries of persecution abundantly attests. It has been alleged in defence of the anti-Semitic riots in Russia in 1881, that their increase in population and wealth was so great and so rapid that they were exercising an undue preponderance of influence in affairs of State; that their presence in such numbers and power endangered national unity and the Christian faith; that they never could be true patriots, and that, as a money-lending people they exerted a corrupting influence on commerce. In this country their patriotism is unquestioned. And because of this and their love of and devotion to our Public Schools, not a few sagacious politicians and statesmen are welcoming their coming among us from other lands, and their natural increase, as an important help to the native born in defeating the priest-ridden hordes of the ignorant and the vicious, who, flocking to our shores in great numbers are ignorantly and blindly led or driven to opposition to one of the chief bulwarks of our Republic, our Common Schools. In many foreign countries, especially in Germany, Austria, and even in

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Russia, the children of Jews are being educated in a ratio disproportioned to those of Gentiles. "This finds an illustration in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where the number of the population being a trifle over a million and a half, one million were Romanists, a half a million Protestants, and twenty-eight thousand Jews. But in the grammar schools the Romanists and Protestants counted two thousand each, and the Jews over five hundred, or the Romanists 41 per cent., the Protestants 47 per cent., and the Jews 11 per cent., or more roughly and roundly, the Romanists had one pupil in those schools for every five hundred of their number, the Protestants one for every two hundred and sixty, and the Jews one for every fifty-seven. In what are known as the commercial schools the proportion is about the same."

Of the religious condition of the modern Jew, Dr. Gracey thus speaks: "As the Jew has entered into the civilization of the age and become a part of it, Rabbinical Judiaism has necessarily undergone considerable modification. The public schools and other educational establishments give them their curriculum of study, and the study of the Talmud has so far declined that German Jews have to import their Rabbis from among the Polish and Russian youths. The catechism learned by the Jew children in Germany teaches rationalism, not Biblicism, and many have first learned the Bible through the Christian missionary. Amongst multitudes of them in Germany, the hope of a Messiah has totally disappeared. Dr. Philippson, editor of the *Allgemine Zeitung des Indenthens*, acknowledges that a spirit of skepticism has laid hold of the younger generation, so that conviction has disappeared; all idealism is gone, and nothing is considered to be useful and worth while any effort but that which promises material advantage—wealth, honor, power and enjoyment. Hence this mad spirit of speculation, this effort and anxiety to get rich quickly, and at the expense of others. A writer in that periodical said a few years ago: "I see that among the educated classes the religious indifference has so much grown that they do not take the least interest in Jewish literature. I cannot get rid of the doubt whether Judaism, which rests on an historical foundation and is built up with historical stones, can stand and continue when the stones are loosened, and that foundation is forsaken."

The *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jæwish World* are full of lament that the privileges granted by the Russian government to educate Jews,

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and the drafts of Jewish youths for ten years into the army, with other causes, are rapidly resulting in the same decline of faith among the Russian Jewish community, and the younger generation is acknowledgedly skeptical, though often secretly so at home. The Israelitish Alliance of Paris is rapidly planting the same forces, schools, etc., among the Jews in Turkey, Asia and Africa. Of two thousand shops kept by Jews in the city of Paris, not over a hundred are closed on Saturday. Of the seventy thousand Jews in New York City, not over twenty-five hundred are attached to the synagogue.

Rev. Theodore J. Meyer has therefore pertinently said that the "consequence of this new spirit is that the synagogal service, which for centuries had existed without any change, can no more attract and satisfy people whose mental horizon has been enlarged by the study of history, science and philosophy, and whose tastes and modes of living have been revolutionized by the contact and intercourse with civilized society. The disorderly, noisy service of the synagogue could not but be repulsive to such men. A reform of it was, therefore, generally demanded. Under great opposition, not only from the still powerful Orthodox party, but in many cases also from the political authorities, a change was at length effected. Everywhere in the principal synagogues of the Continent and Great Britain more order and decorum prevail, choral singing, regular or occasional sermons in the vernacular were introduced, although with a very few exceptions the language of the prayers remained Hebrew. For a time that succeeded in attracting again to the synagogues those who had turned away in disgust from the old unæsthetic service; but it could not satisfy them for any length of time. The cold decorum of the new service left them cold, too; and moreover they discovered that the spirit of the prayers of the synagogue was more in opposition with their views than even the old form of service had been with their new habits and tastes.

"The writings of Zunz, Geiger, Holdheim, Furst and others had rudely shaken the belief in the authority of the Talmud and in the institutions of the prayers and service of the synagogue by Ezra and the great men of the Sanhedrim. These men, and the leaders of this movement generally, had been all more or less imbued with the rationalism and pantheism, which at that time prevailed in German literature and society generally. What sympathy could they have with a liturgy which on every page gives expression to its hope for the coming of the promised Messiah, prays for his appearance, for the

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gathering of scattered Israel, and their return to their own land; for the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the sacrificial service? After the charm of novelty had worn off, the synagogue again stood empty, notwithstanding their reformed services. Greater, more thorough-going reforms were required—reforms which introduced into the synagogue not only better decorum, music and singing, which did not merely lop the liturgy a little here and there, but would bring it into harmony with the spirit of the age, both internally—*i.e.*, doctrinally—and externally."

The *Jewish World* is a weekly penny paper published in London, which week by week has reproduced in popular form the subtlest and boldest infidel thought of Strauss and Bauer. There is little room to doubt but that where Judaism has come into contact with Christian civilization it has resulted in a death-blow to Rabbinical Judaism. A return to simple Mosaic Judaism has proved to be an impossibility. Even in other countries Rabbinism has been undermined.

The question of their conversion to Christianity would require a separate article. A few statements, however, may be presented. Seven or eight years ago it was said the number of Hebrew Christians in Berlin alone was upwards of fifteen hundred. In 1876 the Irish Presbyterian Mission Board estimated that there were twenty thousand converted and baptized Jews then living in the communion of Christian churches, and the *Missionary News* estimates that at the present day at least a thousand Jews annually are converted to Christianity, who join the churches in about the following proportion: Greek Church, 450; Romish, 280; Evangelical, 250; and that during this century at least a *hundred thousand* have been baptized, among whom are many eminent persons. Professor Paulus Cassell, D.D., a member of the German Parliament, is a convert from Judaism. The Irish Presbyterian Missionary report, of thirteen years ago, said that not less than three hundred and twenty converted Jews were known at that time to be occupying high and influential positions as ministers, theological professors, and teachers in the Christian church. The Church of England alone had one hundred and ten converted Jews ministering as priests at her altars, and amongst the most eminent divines of the Presbyterian and dissenting bodies were many of the children of Jacob. Christian Jews have won for themselves a world-wide reputation as commentators and expounders of the Christian Scriptures, and some of the brightest centres of Evangelical light on the continent of Europe are universities

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where Jewish Christian doctors occupy the chairs. There are indications among the Jews of Persia of a large movement towards Christianity. Among the sixty thousand Jews of London there is said to be an increasing approximation of many Jews to the Christian church. Some well-to-do Jews say that many would any day become members of the Christian church if there was an important movement that way from the synagogues. Many Christians found in London have Jewish names, and have had for at least one generation. Sixty Jews have applied for membership cards in our Young Men's Christian Associations. Forty years ago there were not fifty Jewish Christian converts in Great Britain; now the missions count three thousand, and it is estimated that fifteen hundred Jews leave the synagogue every year; whether they become Christians or infidels, we are not told. Europe has nineteen, possibly more, Jewish societies. In this country it was thought twenty-five years ago that there was no room nor need for a mission to the Jews, but we now have several, and through them many have been brought to Christ.

An able Jewish authority says: "The majority of Jews are more familiar with the doctrines and sayings of the New Testament than they are with the Talmud and the Pentateuch." Rev. Rudolph Koenig of Pesth says of Professor Delitzch's translation of the New Testament into Hebrew, which has gone through several editions, that the Jews are its readers, and a considerable movement among them has been the result. He also speaks of the Jewish Missionary Association formed among the theological students of Leipsic, called "Institutum Judaicum," holding prayer meetings for the conversion of the Jews. The methods of appeal to the Jews which experience discloses are often curious and instructive. There is, for instance, the appeal to the Jewish character of the *New* Testament. It is affirmed to be more Jewish than the Old Testament, containing not a particle of Gentile element within its pages, whereas the Old Testament contains prophecies communicated through Gentiles like Jethro and an idolatrous priest, and a pseudo-prophet like Balaam.

We have no room so much as to outline the Independent Jewish Christian movements, like that under Rabinowitz, the learned Jewish lawyer, who teaches the Jews "Jesus is our brother," and "the key to the Holy Land lies in the hands of our brother Jesus." We forbear reference now to the oft-repeated suggestion that the conversion of the people would provide not a missionary agency but a missionary *people*, and an indigenous evangelistic force.

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They are sleeping under all stars, trading in all marts, sailing over all seas, scaling all mountains, tracking all deserts, wearing all garbs, speaking all tongues, familiar with all customs and codes, "the source of all the monotheism of the world," holding in their hands the prophecies of their own peeled and scattered condition; at once no people and the mightiest of people; steeped in prejudice and often in poverty; without prophet to inspire or priest to rally, or standard for rendezvous; without country that they may call their own, without shekel or shield, without miracle or sacrifice, without urim and thummim or cloudy pillar, they remain, defying all influences that have worked the extinction of other peoples from the days of the Czar of Egypt to those of the Czar of Russia; and they remain to accomplish so high and holy a mission as witnesses to Jesus Christ in another and a better sense than in that of the terrible, 'Tarry thou till I come,' which has made them monumental through centuries of the judgment of God."

Redemption After Death.

UNDER this title the Rev. Dr. Charles A. Briggs, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, in the City of New York, has a very significant article in a recent number of *The Magazine of Christian Literature.* Dr. Briggs has taken an active part in the discussions among the Presbyterians on the question of the revision of the Westminster Confession, and the article referred to has no doubt grown out of that debate. He begins it with the following declaration: "The time has fully come when Protestant churches are compelled to confront the question of the Middle State and the nature of Christian life therein. This crisis is due (1) to an entire change of attitude toward the Second Advent of Jesus Christ; (2) to the spread in the churches of the Arminian doctrine of probation; (3) to the general acceptance of the new doctrine of the universal salvation of infants; (4) to the development of the doctrine of sin and guilt in connection with a further unfolding of Philosophical Ethics and a deeper study of Christian Ethics."

In these four directions, he declares, Protestantism, and especially Calvinistic churches, have departed a long distance from their creeds and catechisms. And now, he says, to deny the possibility of redemption after death, is a grievous limiting of the love of God; for if we have any real apprehension of the Living God and of the

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Fatherhood of God we cannot doubt that the divine love is a living and unfolding love that never forsakes the child from his birth onward through all the ages of his growth. "From this point of view," he adds, "if life in this world is brief and life in the Middle State is long, we must rise to the conception of the love of God as accomplishing even greater works of redemption in the Middle State than in this world." Against the idea of redemption after death, he finds two dogmas: Judgment at death, and the Second Advent. But "the doctrine of a judgment at death is," he affirms, "a heathen doctrine derived from the heathen mythological conception of a god of the realm of the dead." And the mixing up of the Judgment and the Millenium, and the substitution of one for the other, is a mischievous error. The question of the condition of infants is then considered; some suggestions are made on what is known to be the very modern doctrine of Probation, on Sanctification, on the Reign of Christ, and on the consistency of Christian Doctrines in their relations to the doctrine of the Middle State; and then the question is raised as to what can be said of the fate of those who go into the Middle State, not from infancy nor from begun but incomplete salvation, but from lives of downright wickedness. Concerning these he sees no positive light; and yet he is not wholly without hope. Unlike Tertullian, who declared that he should "rejoice, yea, exult," when he saw the damned writhing in everlasting torments, Dr. Briggs declares that he would gladly embrace and be greatly comforted by the doctrine of Universal Salvation, if he could see the evidence for it in the Scriptures. His heart longs for its truth, but his theological bias prevents his believing it. Yet he is not wholly destitute of hope, and he closes his article with these suggestive and cheering words:

"There is a silence on the fate of the wicked in the Middle State since the resurrection of Jesus that is profound and unbroken in the New Testament. The presumption is that their condition has not been changed by the resurrection, and that they remain in the prison-house of Hades. There are some who hold that there is a possibility of release from the prison house to join the company of the blessed. Such a hope would, indeed, be a comfort if it could be indulged for all mankind. But there seems to be no solid basis on which to rest it. The grace of God is so grand and glorious in its wonders of redemption that we may rest upon that as the solid rock of comfort. We gain more hope here than we can get from any other source whatsoever. We may be certain that when the final verdict has been

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rendered, we shall not be surprised that so many were not saved. But we shall rejoice at the wonderful extent and richness of the redemptive love of God in the unexpected multitudes of the blessed. And these will be not chiefly babes and imbeciles, but men and women who have undergone hardships in this life, and have overcome in its trials and temptations.

"If we could find evidence in the Scriptures that there was any possibility of the extension of the benefits of regeneration and the efficacy of the means of grace into the abode of the lost, we should be glad to follow it. Or if we could see any evidence from other Christian doctrines that would lead to such a hope we would gladly embrace it. The Scriptures are not so decided against it as many suppose. The one passage with reference to Dives is not decisive for the present dispensation, and therefore does not shut the door of hope. The preaching of Jesus to the spirits in prison is not decisive for the present dispensation, and therefore does not open the door for a larger hope. Jesus by his resurrection made a change in the abode of the dead, by taking some of them at least with him from Hades to Heaven. We do not know what changes have been made in Hades in other respects.

"The Arminian doctrine of *Probation* forces all those who believe in it to extend that probation into the Intermediate State. Sooner or later they will do it. But the Calvinistic system is in a very different position. The Calvinistic system solves the difficulties in a much better way. It does not limit the grace of God by human ability or inability. And yet there is nothing in Calvinism itself that prevents the extension of redemption into a future life. In point of fact, Universalism sprang out of an extreme form of Calvinism. The grace of God might work in Hades as well as in this world. Regeneration might take place there as well as here, with or without the means of grace. But we cannot escape the consideration that no one goes to Hades who has not been previously in this world, where the work of regeneration might have been wrought without waiting for the Middle State. If multitudes of infants and imbeciles are regenerated before departing from this life, why not also all others who are to be redeemed?

"Let us heed the Saviour's warning, 'Judge not that ye be not judged.' We should cease damning our fellow-men and sending them to hell for difference of doctrine, of polity, and of mode of worship. Certainly ifit rested with men, not one of us would ever

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see heaven. If the historic churches were to be the judges, they would empty heaven save of a very few ancient saints, and fill hell with historic Christianity.

"If the judgment of the ecclesiastical authorities of the historic churches were ratified in heaven to-day, as they claim that they will be, every Christian now in the world would be excluded from heaven when he dies by the official decision of some one or more of the various ecclesiastical organizations that now govern the Christian world. What a *reductio ad absurdum* is the present opinion of Christendom on this subject!

"The Messiah is at hand. There is a day of judgment that is hastening on. We are none of us prepared for it. Let us be thankful that there is a Saviour and a congregation of saints in the Middle State ready to receive and prepare us for that day, and that when we depart this life in feebleness and imperfection we may be received into the company of the blessed, who will strengthen us and help us to climb the ascents of sanctification and glory."

——In *The Independent* of May 22nd and 29th, Dr. Briggs takes up and illustrates the fact that the Westminster Confession in its citation of Old Testament proof-texts leaves wholly out of account the cheering and comforting sayings of the Prophets, and notably so in marked instances where such occur in the context that is cited; and that in these instances to have quoted the full connection would have greatly modified the doctrines which the Confession was made to teach. In concluding his examination Dr. Briggs says:

"We have gone over the several writings of the Old Testament in order to see what use is made of them in the Westminster Confession of Faith. We find that the Old Testament has been neglected; that the hard doctrines have been picked out and the gracious and brighter side of the Old Testament has been overlooked. The Old Testament has an important contribution to make in that reformation and reconstruction of Christian Theology that is now in progress, of which the revision movement in the Presbyterian Church is only one of the signs. The Confession is not the only system of theology that is at fault. If we were to test any of the dogmatic systems now in use by the Bible, we would find them in many respects still more faulty in their neglect of Scripture and in their abuse of Scripture. The Westminster divines made a better use of Scripture than any of their predecessors. They compare very favorably with modern dogmaticians. But the systems are all at fault; they are all alike speculative and partial. We need a system of theology that is more comprehensive than them

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all, one built upon the firm foundations of the entire Bible; the Old Testament and the New Testament in one solid organism."

——Dr. Briggs also shows, in an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, that in the seventeenth century, Presbyterians and Congregationalists were unanimous in the opinion that the heathen and their infants were doomed to everlasting fire. "The Baptists pressed the doctrine of the salvation of their unbaptized children as the children of believers; but they did not teach the salvation of the heathen and their babes." And he gives the credit of opening up the doctrine of the universal salvation of children, and the partial salvation of the heathen, to the Latitudinarians, of the Church of England, and then to the Quakers or Friends. And as the latter were the ablest and most persistent in its advocacy, he reaches the conclusion that "the Quakers have prevailed," and that Presbyterians and Congregationalists have adopted the Quaker views in regard to the universal salvation of infants. Anthony Culverwell, a Quaker, in a work published in 1652, advocated the salvation of some of the heathen. His views were combatted by Anthony Tuckney, the chairman of the committee that composed the Westminster Shorter Catechism, who represented the unanimous opinion of the divines that constituted the Westminster Assembly in the rejection of the heathen and their infants from the benefits of redemption. And Dr. Briggs avers that "No one has ever been able to point to a single Westminster divine who did not teach this doctrine."

George Keith, a Quaker preacher in America from 1685 to 1690, challenged the New England Presbyterians and Congregationalists, in a book published in 1689, "to find any place in Scripture to prove that there are any reprobate infants, or that any infants dying in infancy go to hell and perish eternally." The Boston ministers reply in print in 1790, stating among other things the following: "3. That God hath nowhere revealed to us that he hath accepted of the satisfaction of Christ for all that die in their infancy; and where there is no revelation there is no ground for faith. 4. That there is merit enough for damnation in them, else it would be unjust that they should be under condemnation. 5. That this sentence hath been actually executed upon some infants, (Rom. v. 14,) they never sinned actually, and yet they died, and it was the same death spoken of ver. 12." Dr. Briggs makes the significant comment: "Keith stood well-nigh alone in 1689. The Boston ministers would find themselves

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alone if they could come forth into our times." Further on he says: "Dr. Lyman Beecher in 1828 in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* wrote a series of articles to show that the future punishment of infants was not a doctrine of Calvinism. He evidently did not know of the writings of his predecessors in Boston in 1690, or of the writings of the Westminster divines on this subject. His article is simply a land mark, showing that it had now become the well-nigh universal belief that all infants dying in infancy were saved."

——The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at its recent session in Saratoga, N. Y., yielding to the demand of a large majority of the presbyteries for a revision of the Westminster Confession, appointed a committee to act on the matter and gave it instructions. The committee is directed to meet early in the fall and to proceed with all dispatch to formulate such amendments as shall not "in any way impair the integrity of the Reformed or Calvinistic system of doctrine taught in the Confession of Faith." How much of the Westminster Confession can be altered without impairing the "Calvinistic system of doctrine," may be to outsiders something like the question how much of the tragedy of Hamlet can be impaired by eliminating Hamlet! The *Independent* takes a short cut to the answer by the assurance that, "The committee will be at liberty to consider that the special points of revision which have been suggested by the presbyteries are not inconsistent with the theology of the Church. It is perfectly clear that they must formulate amendments in such matters as 'elect infants,' the harsh expressions in reference to reprobation, the love of God to all mankind, and the denunciation of the Church of Rome. Not much farther than this will the committee be able to go." A Calvinism with no reprobation, and with God's love universal, will be a singular misnomer!

The discussion in the presbyteries has disclosed the further fact that at least one-third of them desire an entirely new creed, suffering the old Confession to be utterly ignored and gather dust on the shelf. The Conservatives who would leave the Westminster Confession unaltered, joined with the radical third in the session of the General Assembly, and almost unanimously obtained the appointment of a committee to formulate a creed that shall be short and comprehensive, "a creed which its common members can read and understand; a creed that shall be brief, compact and Christian." "Such a creed," says the *Independent*, "the Presbyterian Church does not have in its

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Confession of Faith, and will not have in that Confession of Faith when revised."

——The question of revision is not the only perplexing subject among the Presbyterians. The "Special Committee on the Increase of the Number of Ministers," made a startling report to the late session of the General Assembly, when it stated that 17 per cent. of all the Presbyterian Churches in the United States have vacant pulpits, and that the increase of vacancies is large—greater in strong churches than in the weaker ones. Eleven hundred churches have died in twenty years. Two hundred new missionaries are needed to carry forward the prospective church work of the year. Of the whole 5,789 ministers, after deducting licentiates, evangelists retired, and those in official position, only 2,387 ordained and installed pastors are left, while the total number of churches is 6,543.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church,—which made its revision of the Westminster Catechism some seventy-five years ago,—is, according to its organ, the St. Louis *Observer*, in a still more deplorable condition than are the Calvinistic Presbyterians. The following is the statement: "Out of 2,689 churches, only 215 have service every Sabbath, and 564 have no regular preaching. Out of 1,595 ministers, 720 give all their time to the preaching of the Word. Not the one-half of either churches or preachers do anything in the work of missions."

——The National Temperance Congress, in session in New York as we go to press, promises great good to the general cause in whose interests it is called. It is to be a free interchange and discussion of the most diverse views of dealing with the Drink Curse. Some of the ablest representative Temperance Reformers are to be present, and we cannot doubt that standing face to face and calmly presenting their various theories, they will come to a better understanding and more charitable judgment of each other's views. In the judgment of many wise thinkers, the late decision of the United States Supreme Court, in breaking the force of State laws prohibiting the sale of all intoxicants, and discriminating in favor of the unrestricted traffic in liquors manufactured outside the State, is to produce a crisis whose results will be beneficent to the States which are seeking to abate this monstrous nuisance. The time is, therefore, propitious for a conference of determined Temperance workers.

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Contemporary Literature.

The Fatherhood of God. By Rev. William Henry Black, D. D., Nashville, Tenn. Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1889. 12 mo., pp. 108. 75 cts.

This very interesting and suggestive book is made up of five sermons bearing respectively the following titles: The Fatherhood of God; Our Father's Excellencies; Fatherhood Revealed in Christ; Fatherhood Implies Brotherhood; Glory of the Father the End of All. They were preached in the Church of which Dr. Black is pastor, the Lucas Avenue Cumberland Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, Mo. The Cumberland Presbyterians are a branch of the great sect distinguished by their ecclesiastical form of government, and not by agreement in all points of theology. The Westminster Confession, with the elimination of those portions teaching eternal reprobation, partial atonement, the distinction between elect and non-elect infants, and the limitation of the operations of the Holy Spirit to the elect only, is the standard of faith of the Cumberland Presbyterians. In these respects they are three quarters of a century in advance of those who are now agitating in their Presbyteries the question of revision of this ancient standard. Dr. Black has become convinced that the theology of Augustin is not preachable, and in seeking for a better foundation for his discourse he endeavors to frame a theology whose materials can be "beautifully and practically included under the general notion of *The Family of God.*" "In this system", he says, "Fatherhood takes the place of divine soverignty in the Calvinistic system, the place of divine immanence in the so called 'New Theology.'" In these respects his vision is no doubt clear and accurate; for if God's Fatherhood is in any sense taught in the New Testament, it must be regarded not as a mere incident or appendage to some more basal doctrine, but as fundamental and of necessity giving tone to all else that is included in the Gospel.

The sermons before us were preached as a sort of experiment by way of testing the acceptableness and practical power of the author's new theology. He confesses himself convinced that they have succeeded in standing the test, and now he gives them to the world "for the aid of practical religion, and for showing the universal sweep of the divine Fatherhood." He believes that "if you want to keep a man awake who rides in your coach you must *jolt* him a little," and we doubt not that both himself and the occupants of the Chariot of Zion which he was guiding were not a little *jolted* by his experiment. Can they ever get comfortably back to the unfatherly doctrines of the Westminster Confession? Already Dr. Black sees no place in the universe of a Father for a hell of material fires and unending bodily torments. "Hell is simply the spiritual life of an ungodly soul carried on in the natural course of sin to its ultimate results." "Some people," he says, are asking if it is just to punish impenitent sinners in

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hell forever. "My answer to that question is that it certainly is just if God so punishes them. The Bible declares that he does so punish them; hence it is right." If men are impenitent forever doubtless they may justly be punished forever, unless the Being who made them renders it impossible for them to repent and desire like the Prodigal to go home to the Father. In that case we submit that the penalty is unjust. At all events it is not a course of procedure which a good earthly Father would adopt. Can it be any more possible in the Heavenly Father? If man has no desire to be and to do better, let him take the penalty; but if,—no matter when nor where it may be,—he desires to rise and go to the Father, what of the Father who shuts the door against him and makes his return impossible?

But evidently Dr. Black, though he seems here to avow it, does not believe in unending punishment. At all events, he avows a belief in something else, impossible to hold in connection with this. This is his declaration: "In the end, after all his magnificent conquests, after he has made himself master of every nation, of every city, and of every soul, after death itself shall have been overcome, then our Lord shall take all the keys—the keys of all the kingdoms, the keys of all the great commercial cities, the keys of the hardest city of all to conquer, the city of Man-Soul,— he shall lay all these keys at the feet of the Father and say, "Father, all the world that was lost to thee through Satan's falsehoods in Eden is now restored. There is not a disloyal soul in all the world. All the continents and all the islands are subject to thy will, they will do thy bidding. All things in heaven, all things in earth, all things under the earth have confessed me as Lord. And now, as their Lord and sovereign, I transfer all to thee, that thou mayest be all in all." If "there is not a disloyal soul in all the world," and if "all have confessed" Jesus "as Lord," certainly there are at that time no "impenitent sinners" to be remanded to "hell forever." Which of the statements made by Dr. Black will he revoke? His last is alone consistent with the declaration of Jesus: "The Father loveth the Son and hath given all things into his hands." "All that the Father hath given me shall come unto me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out."

The volume is a handsome specimen of typography, paper and binding, and will have, we trust, a large sale and a careful reading.

The Unknown God, or Inspiration among Pre-Christian Races. By C. Loring Brace, author of "Gesta Christi", etc., etc. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1890. 8vo., pp. ix, 336. $2.50.

Mr. Brace is a devout believer in the all-sufficiency of Christianity and its unapproachable superiority to all other religion. But he does not deem it inconsistent with that belief to see and to help others to see, that in many things the founders of more ancient religions were in some measure inspired by the Invisible and always more or less Unknown God. By copious citations from the Books of Prayers and

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Doctrines and Precepts of these Religions, he calls attention to conceptions of Monotheism and of a Supreme Moral Governor which he feels convinced disclose such lofty sentiments as were not possible to the authors except by the aid of inspiration. The following from the table of contents will give an idea of the extent of the field which he opens to our view: Egyptian Monotheism; The Jews and Egyptians; Akkadian Penitential Psalms; The Greek Mysteries; Zeus as Spiritual God; The Religion of Socrates and Plato; The faith of the Stoics; The faith of the Stoics–Seneca; Stoical Writings—Epictetus; Stocial Writings—Marcus Aurelius; Zoroastrianism; Hinduism; Buddhism; Sacred Writings of Buddhism; Heathen Inspiration and the Scriptures; The Conversion of Non-Christian Nations. The sources of Mr. Brace's information on these themes are given in numerous foot-notes, and the reader has constant assurance that he is not perusing a merely superficial view of the subject, but one that is distinguished by extensive research, patient and faithful examination, and an honest intention to present the facts as they are.

The Chapter on the Akkadian Penitential Psalms, written by a people inhabiting northern Babylonia, is especially interesting. The following is a specimen of a Psalm or Prayer, very much resembling the indisputably inspired Psalms of David, but written at least a thousand years before David was born:—

"The heart of my Lord was wroth, to his place may he return.
The transgression that I commit, my God knoweth it.
The waters of my tears do I drink.
O Lord, my transgression is great, many are my sins.
The forbidden thing did I eat.
My Lord in the wrath of his heart hath punished me.
I cried aloud; there was none that would hear me.
I am in darkness and trouble, I lifted not myself up:
To my God my distress I referred, my prayers I addressed.
How long, O my God, shall I suffer?
O Lord, thy servant thou dost not restore.
In the waters of the raging floods seize his hand!
The sin that he hath sinned, to blessedness bring back!
The transgressions he hath committed, let the winds carry away!
My transgressions are before me; may thy judgments give me life."

In Buddha Mr. Brace sees a very near approach to Christ, a revealer of ennobling thoughts of God, and of ethical truths and motives; a pure and noble life which place him and his religion second only to Jesus and his revelation. But in the particulars in which he makes this near approach to him on whom "the Spirit was poured without measure," the distance between them is strikingly obvious. The following expresses Mr. Brace's thought of that distance:

"The great want in Buddha's teaching, however, was the clear and distinct presentation of God as Father. It may have lain back in

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his mind when he pictured the state of perfect blessedness hereafter; it seems sometimes to be assumed in his arguments, as we have noted; but the lack of it is the fatal defect of Buddhism, and unfits it to be the absolute religion of mankind. In heartfelt, unselfish sympathy with the woes of humanity, and in unceasing aspirations for purity and holiness, in entire sacrifice for men, even the lowest and poorest, in a love encompassing all creatures, Gotama Buddha has but one surpassing him in human history. But some of the humblest followers of that one have stood far above the Hindu saint in the consciousness of God, and in the relation to him as an Infinite Father. It is this want which will make Buddhism less and less a power in the advancing progress of the race. Yet Gotama was undoubtedly inspired to a certain degree by the Divine Spirit; he did not for some reason accept or receive full inspiration. He was an instrument under Divine Providence to redeem millions of his own people, and of other peoples from formalism, idolatry, and selfishness, from lust and intemperance; he has given a new hope and love to countless numbers of the human race; he has healed innumerable wounds, and dried the tears of millions of the sorrowing and oppressed. Of him could be said what was utterred ages ago by the devout Egyptian of Osiris, "His heart was in every wound" of humanity. He has perhaps prepared the way for Christianity. At least, there is nothing in Buddhism to prevent the most devout disciple from rising above it to the conception of a higher Nirvana and a more perfect Redeemer; from Buddha and Atama to Christ and God the Father."

Whatever we may think of Mr. Brace's conclusions from what he finds in the so-called Sacred Books of others, we shall be instructed by the mass of facts presented in such accurate chronological order and in a style so clear and intelligible. And may it not also deepen our conviction as we see the superior excellence of Christ and his gospel, that in whatever degree Divine Truth is disclosed in other religions, in that proportion or measure God inspired it that like Judaism it might be the pedagogue to lead men into the higher school of Christ?

The Extinction of Evil. Three Theological Essays, by Rev. E. Petavel, D. D. Free Lecturer at the University of Geneva, Switzerland. Translated, with an Introductory Chapter, by Rev. Charles H. Oliphant. The Preface by Rev. Edward White, Minister of Allen St. Chapel, Kensington, London. Boston. Charles H. Woodman. 1889. 12mo., pp. 184. 75 cents.

This book is a contribution to the literature of "Conditional Immortality," and predicates the "Extinction of Evil" on the Extinction of the Evil Doer. It is a well written book, and, granting its assumptions, its arguments would be conclusive for the annihilation of the wicked. On p. 28, e. g., Mr. Oliphant makes two unfounded assumptions, first in treating the phrase "eternal life", and the word "Immortality", as synonyms; and second in regarding the word rendered "immortality" in Romans 2:7, as referring to unending dura-

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tion. The "*aionion life*", eternal life, never is expressive of quantity or duration, but always, since it is "the knowledge of the true God, and of Jesus Christ whom he has sent," a quality of heart; never existence, but always a directing spiritual power and influence. The *aptharsia* rendered "immortality" in Romans 2:7, and put as a condition of obtaining "eternal life," is literally purity of principle, elsewhere rendered (Eph. 6:24), "sincerity," and in Titus 2:7, "uncorruption:" "In doctrine showing uncorruption." Akin to these is the assumption running all through the volume, and the basis of its special argument, that "death" is always extinction of being, the "lost" are those irrecoverably doomed, those who are "destroyed" are unconscious or annihilated. But the apostle Paul speaks thus of himself and other Christian believers (Eph. 2:1), "You did he quicken when ye were dead," and then describes what he means by "death," "living in the lusts of our flesh, doing the desires of our flesh," etc.; Jesus came to save those who "are lost;" and Israel who is declared to have "destroyed" itself, still has its help in God. (Hosea 13:9.) Nor is there any warrant for the assumption (p. 101) that there are some "whom no power can reclaim to the only reasonable conditions of existence." Israel cut off as a fruitless branch, shall be grafted in again, that all Israel may be saved (Romans, 11, 20, 26); Ephraim so joined to his idols that the command goes forth, "let him alone," shall yet say "What have I any more to do with idols" (Hosea 4:17; 14:8); and human nature being the same always, and God's government the same, who shall set limits to man's opportunity for repentance, or to God's willingness to hear and to help? Who shall contradict the promise of Jehovah that the people shall be willing in the day of his power (Psalm 110:3.)?

To the reiterated assertions in Dr. Petavel's Essays, that immortality is not for all, and is no part of our birthright, it is enough to say that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had quite a different thought when he declared that Christ came to minister to that in men which has the power (dynamis, ever-cumulative, never-ceasing power) of an indissoluble life (Heb. 7:17); and that Our Lord's rebuke to the Sadducees who denied the fact of immortality contains the assurance that "all live unto God." The Author's Essay on Universal Salvation betrays ignorance of what he is combatting, and is therefore wholly a *non-sequitur*. That he has escaped the terrors of belief in endless suffering is matter of rejoicing; but it is worth his while to consider that he has not yet come to a satisfactory resting place. His own statement of relief from the pressure of the thought that everlasting sorrow will be the portion of the saved who miss the dear ones put out of existence, shows that the old horror still lingers in his heart. All his reasoning on pp. 124, 125, proceeds on the acknowledgment that the saved in order to be blessed must fall under the Apostolic Condemnation of being "without natural affection", and so thoroughly unchristian. He has not yet come to what he can under all circumstances abide by. Prof. C. F. Hudson, in his debate

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with Dr. Sylvanus Cobb, said: "My change from the Orthodox view was a great emancipation, and he who has changed once may change again. Who knows that one will abide in the half-way house, and will not some day rejoice in another great emancipation"? We congratulate our "Conditional Immortality" brethren that they have reached the "half-way house," but we trust they will not make it a permanent abode, but press on to the only satisfactory stopping place, the assurance that "all shall know the Lord, from the least of them to the greatest."

American Religious Leaders. Wilbur Fisk. By George Prentice, D. D. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 16mo., pp. ix, 289. $1.25.

Dr. Muhlenberg. By William Wilberforce Newton, D. D. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 16mo., pp. x, 272. $1.25.

These, the second and third volumes in this new series, are valuable additions to religious biography.

Wilbur Fisk, one of the pioneer preachers and founders of the Methodist Church in New England; its first eminent educator; a leader in shaping its theology and its ecclesiastical polity; has found in Dr. Prentice an enthusiastic admirer and a sympathetic biographer. The portrait drawn is that of a strong man intellectually and religiously; of many resources of courage, patience, invention and zeal in the presentation of his far reaching plans for the honor and upbuilding of the Church of his love; of great executive ability in carrying forward the educational enterprises to which he devoted so large a portion of his life, and an untiring and able champion of Arminianism. As a controversialist in the early and severe struggle of the Methodist Church with Calvinism, his fairness and candor put him first in the list of champions and won respect from those whose theories he combatted. Born in 1792, the beginning of the darkest portion of the time of religious depression which, following the War for Independence was greatly augmented by the French Revolution, and from which there was little relief until about 1820, Mr. Fisk had noted in school and in college such infidel tendencies then prevading all educational institutions, as to lead him to strenuous effort for the establishing of higher schools of learning which should be under direct religious influences and responsible for the best spiritual results in the thought and lives of the students. Dr. Prentice gives us a vivid picture of this period of demoralization, and of the success of Mr. Fisk's efforts in turning the tide into more hopeful and healthful channels. Not the less interesting is the testimony in regard to his noble work in the cause of Temperance, and his intense hatred of Slavery, although he had no sympathy with the methods of the Abolitionists, but favored the scheme of Colonization. While the volume will have the greatest value to our Methodist friends, its perusal cannot fail to interest and profit readers in all branches of the Christian Church.

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The story of the life and work of Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, D. D., as told by Rev. Dr. Newton, is, as nearly every page of the volume shows, a labor of sincere love, a privilege and a joy. Dr. Muhlenberg was in many respects, the representative man of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States in his day, and its leader in many important respects, though its following has been tardy and it has not yet come up to the realization of all that he was ambitious for it to attain. He was broad, liberal and truly Catholic in his desires and efforts for the spiritual welfare of all; and though a devoted churchman, he deplored the policy of his associates in their exclusiveness and unwarranted narrowness toward other equally deserving sects. The assumption that the Episcopacy alone represented the Holy Catholic Church, seemed to him sheer folly, and he was clear in his conviction that no organization can now claim that it is the visible Church of Christ, but that all sincere believers in, and followers of the Lord are equally members of the Church invisible, but not the less vital. He believed that the Liturgy of his Church was "rich in evangelical truth," and that its order was admirably adapted for ordinary Sabbath service; but he deprecated the "obligation to canonical and rubrical requirements" put upon every minister, shutting him up under every circumstance to the use of the book. "It was never meant to be the same routine for all occasions; we have made it such, and deadened it by our own stiffness. Devotion wearies with the repetition morning and evening, not only the Lord's day but on every day, of the same form of 'linked sweetness long drawn out.'" The Liturgy, while it expresses the desires of the Church at large, cannot, he wisely and truly says, voice the petitions which are suggested by the peculiar circumstances and needs of individual worshippers; and he pleads that the Church may be delivered from the necessity of using only the stereotyped forms.

Dr. Muhlenberg was virtually the founder of Church Schools in this country, and the pioneer in introducing the free-church system, as also Church Hospitals for the sick, and Church Homes for children and the aged, some of which he largely supported from his own purse. So far was he in advance of his day, so generous and catholic in his spirit and aims, that all sects of Christians may well look upon him as their friend and champion, and be glad that the story of his life has been so well and faithfully told.

Conversations in a Studio. By William Wetmore Story. 2 vols. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 16mo., pp. 578. $1.25 per vol.

Like everything else from the pen of Mr. Story, these volumes are delightful reading. It seems a little unfortunate that they are furnished with no table of contents, but the running titles on the top of the right hand pages compensate in part for this defect. Probably the fact that the different chapters or sections contain such a variety of topics, accounts for this omission. A very full index will enable the reader to recall and locate whatever has specially interested him.

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Although, as we have said, the variety of topics is large, there is a dominant theme in most of the chapters, and the transition from one subject to another is generally suggested by something designedly or accidentally said in advance. The conversations on Shakespeare, in the second and eighth sections have greatly interested and instructed us, and are full of information gathered from many sources. The relative value of numerous criticisms on the writings of the great poet is no unimportant part of the Conversations, and the German critics, including Goethe, are pronounced ignorant and stupid. Indeed Mr. Story's "Sconner" of the Germans seems at times venomous, especially in regard to Goethe. And yet he selects as the most significant motto to hang in his studio, Goethe's verse:

> "Wer grosses will muss sich Zusammen raffen,
> In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister
> Und der Gesetz nur kann uns Freilieit geben."

Which he translates, "Who would be great must concentrate his powers,—must work within the limits of his art; and it is Law alone can give us Freedom."

With this exception Mr. Story's treatment of the many phases of his numerous themes is broad and catholic; and since he often draws on his own recollections of artists and literati, his talk is not unfrequently like a personal introduction to his distinguished subjects. Many curious facts with regard to the ancients, show his extensive reading, and his criticisms of art in various ages give us no little insight of his own genius as an artist. Although the volume is entitled "Conversations," it is not mere dialogue, nor a debate on differences of opinion. The conversers are but two in number, almost uniformly in agreement, echoes each of the other, and continually stirring up each other to exhaustive treatment of the subject on which they are speaking. The reader will be incited to a desire and effort to know more of the immense variety of treasures which they bring to his notice.

Evolution. Popular Lectures and Discussions before the Brooklyn Ethical Association. Boston. James H West. 12mo., pp. viii, 400. $2.00.

In these fifteen lectures by eminent apostles in the Evolutionary School, we have a more complete exposition of the various phases of thought on this popular theme than can be obtained in any other one volume. Beginning with biographical papers containing a sketch of the unfolding of the theory by Spencer and Darwin, the remaining essays exhibit Evolution in its relation to scientific, moral, religious and social affairs. Following each essay is a brief outline of the discussion which it incited, in which we note that the position of nearly every writer was dissented from, and sometimes in quite sharp terms. Evidently Evolutionists are not agreed as to the deductions legitimate from their theories. Mr. Nichols, for example, in his lecture on the

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"Philosophy of Evolution," contends that the doctrine of Evolution is wholly materialistic; that it cannot recognize any Spiritual force in the Universe: "Because it places suns and planets in their orbits without hands, because it arranges the strata of the earth without design, because it traces the genesis of crystal, plant, animal and man, step by step without break and without miracle, it is accepted, and only because it does so." In the discussion which follows, this view is decidedly antagonized. Prof. Cope, in his essay on "The Descent of Man," gives Materialism a heavy blow when he says: "When we enter the realm of consciousness we are in a universe which is in some respects not subject to the scales and the measure of the materialist. No doubt every act of consciousness requires for its performance the expenditure of energy, but there are some of the functions of mind which are not correlated with the amount of energy expended in producing them, so far as relates to their mental quality. Of all mental acts this is especially true of the formation of a judgment as the result of a consideration of inducements, or reasons, or the mutual pressure of motives. No matter whether the judgment be free or not, the consideration of, the estimation of, and surrender to, reasons, is a process outside the pale of the scales of the physicist or physiologist. This is the most important fact known to man. It shows that although his mind is bound to its material basis, it controls that basis, within limits, by purely mental processes, which are *per se* entirely free from the trammels of matter, although they may not be free from the laws of mental action."

We commend the volume to all who are interested in knowing what is said on all phases of its interesting subject.

The Salt-Cellars. Being a Collection of Proverbs, together with Homely Notes thereon, by C. H. Spurgeon. These three things go to the Making of a Proverb: Shortness, Sense, and Salt. M.—Z. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1890. 16mo., pp. 367. $1.50.

These Proverbs are from a great variety of sources, and although few of them are as wise as Solomon's, the most of them are very familiar, and contain a great deal of common sense. The volume appears to be the second in a series, all arranged alphabetically with reference to their first word and letter. Mr. Spurgeon's notes are numerous, but not uniformly suggestive, some being very commonplace and wordy; but others are pithy and suggestive. When one considers what a busy man he is, wonder is excited that so many of his sayings are incisive, sparkling and excellent, rather than that he becomes prosy and dull. As specimens take the following Proverbs, and his notes:

"Make much of little."

"By economy use a small income well; by grateful praise express your value of the least of God's mercies; and by charitable judgment come to a favorable conclusion concerning those in whom you see even a little grace. One can see the sky in a single drop of rain, and a work of grace in a tear of repentance."

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"Make not much of little."

"That is to say, when finding fault, don't make mountains of molehills, nor crimes out of blunders. This is the apparent reverse of a proverb a little back; but then it applies to another set of things."

"Man proposes, but God disposes."

"Napoleon boasted that he proposed and disposed too, but God's answer was given when Napoleon was deposed."

"Wealth and worth are different things."

"Yet most people think, that if a man is worth fifty thousand pounds, he must be a man of worth. He might have all that, and yet be worth less; or even worthless."

"Who will not better the evil is an abettor of the evil."

"By refusing to help a reform, he bolsters up the old wrong, and thus becomes a partaker in the evil deeds of the past by approving them, and all similar deeds in the future by permitting them. Those who are not against sin are with it."

If these selections whet any one's appetite for more, they will not be disappointed in procuring the book.

Stories of Child Life. Book I, At Home; Book II, At Play; Book III, In the Country; Book IV, At School; by Anna B. Badlam. 12mo., v. p. Silver, Burdett & Co. Boston. 1889.

These are new editions of vols. I–IV of "The Young Folk's Library for School and Home," edited by Larkin Dunton, LL.D., Head Master of the Boston Normal School. In the QUARTERLY for January we called attention to the fifth and sixth volumes, expressing our great satisfaction with the practical purpose of the series, and the admirable adaptation of the volumes then before us to meet the end had in view by editor and publishers. The same commendation is justly due the volumes now in hand. They are intended to supplement the ordinary and required reading during the first three years of school life.

The necessity for such reading is now conceded by all experienced teachers; and the charm of the series before us lies in the fact that the themes are such as interest all children, the story-book always being a favorite with the little ones. The language chosen is also that in use in the school text-book for similar grades; the frequent repetition of the more difficult words, and the gradual introduction of new words rapidly familiarizing the child with the appearance, pronunciation and meaning of what is often so hard to read, and the teaching of which so severely taxes the time and patience of the teacher. Parents who would help their children to interest in their lessons, and school authorities who desire to aid teachers in obtaining the best results of their efforts in the school room, will find valuable aids in these volumes.

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The Voice.—How to Train it,—How to care for it. For Ministers, Lecturers, Readers, Actors, Singers, Teachers, and Public Speakers. By E. B. Warman, A. M., Author of Principles of Pronunciation in Worcester's Dictionary; How to Read, Recite and Impersonate, etc., etc. With illustrations by Marian Morgan Reynolds. Boston. MDCCCXC. Lee & Shepard. 4to. pp. 168. $2.00.

This book, though especially intended for those who use the voice in public, is both instructive and interesting even to the unprofessional reader. Part First treats of "The Use and Abuse of the Vocal Organs," and after pointing out the need of a carefully trained voice to the doctor, the minister, the lawyer, the singer, the lecturer, the reader and the teacher, the author considers the advantage to be gained in general healthfulness in this study of the voice. Under a *skilful* teacher all the vocal organs will be strengthened, and weak lungs will become strong and healthful in their action. Nostrums should be avoided. Though they may at first appear to improve the voice, they will ultimately and permanently injure it. Cleanliness with regard to the throat, especially the pharyngeal cavity, is insisted upon, and various remedies and warnings are given, among them the need of pure air, if one would remove obstruction from the voice.

Modulation of the voice and the power of sustaining tones are dealt with, and it is shown that the voice may be used in speaking to large audiences out of doors, day after day, with not only no detriment, but with an invigoration of the entire system of the vocal organs. Part Second is devoted to the "Anatomy, Hygiene, and Physiology of the Vocal Organs," and valuable advice is given with regard to the prevention of colds and of that almost universal malady, catarrh. The illustrations are of great assistance in comprehending the structure and position of the various organs concerned in breathing and in voice. Part Third contains "Breathing and Vocal Exercises for the Culture and Development of the Human Voice." This part is profusely illustrated with diagrams which greatly help in a correct understanding of the text. Diaphragmatic breathing, correct position of the body, diaphragm control and freedom, supporting the tone, flexibility and clearness, purity of tone, focalizing, flexibility of lips and jaw, articulation, and breath and volume of tone are all clearly and exhaustively discussed. The remarks on blending vs. clipping are especially to be commended. There is an unpleasant tendency in many who have studied elocution to give undue prominence to final consonants by uttering them explosively, instead of keeping the position closed, thus destroying much of the beauty and charm of reading.

Professor Warman's teachings are in full accord with those of the late Professor Lewis B. Monroe, of the Boston Uuiversity School of Oratory, and also contain the Delsartean principle, that we must work from within outward, and that "a true artist shows no effort."

The Evolution of Man and Christianity. By the Rev. Howard MacQueary. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1890. 12mo., pp. 410.

Considering its source, this is a remarkable book. The author is

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Rector of an Episcopal Church, and while holding such a position would naturally be expected to advocate the doctrines held by that Church and publicly avowed in its creed and liturgy; but here he teaches doctrines in regard to the trinity, atonement, and other cardinal tenets of that church diametrically opposed to its credal statements. Of course he ought to teach what he regards as the truth, but to do it honestly and consistently he should not pretend to stand on a platform which he repudiates. For the most part he pays very little attention to the Scriptures either of the Old or the New Testaments, regarding them as exceedingly unreliable, mythical, mistaken, not written by the persons whom they pretend were their authors, and so of very little consequence as statements of fact. Evolution is sufficient, he imagines, to account for everything, so copious extracts are given from the writings of Evolutionists, even where it is manifest that mere hypothesis is the basis for strange conclusions. Evolution, he boasts, discards the New Testament account of miracles as insufficient in evidence to establish reasonable probability of their occurence; but he attempts to answer objections to Evolution, by referring to the presence of a law presumed to have been once operative, but the working of which is now, owing to changed conditions, impossible! So that it is conceded that the now so-called eternal and immutable laws which miracles violate, are a comparatively recent mode of action! As a statement of opinions of Evolutionists the book is made up of copious extracts from their writings, but it would seem that the compiler had not always digested them and had not apprehended their glaring inconsistencies. In criticising the dogma of endless suffering, Mr. MacQueary goes to the Scriptures for his protests against it, and there he is strong and his work is thoroughly Scriptural; but for the most part his preference for the destructive criticism is so strong, that his judgment of the record is one-sided and antagonistic to its worth and authority.

Louisa May Alcott. Her Life, Letters and Journals. Edited by Ednah D. Cheney. Boston. Roberts Brothers. 1890. 16mo., pp. 404.

We remember to have read to the children, years ago, some of the sweet, wholesome stories by Miss Alcott as they first appeared, and how enthusiastically they were received, as the evident moral in each produced its impression. The pleasant recollections of those hours are all revived as we turn the pages of the charming book before us. But none of the creations of her brain, fascinating as so many of them are, compare with this story of her life in interest, moral inspiration and uplifting power. We see, as never before, what real boys and girls she wrote about, the boys and girls whose fortunes in all the diversity of their experiences of struggles, hopes, disappointments, and success, were portraits and histories of her own kinsfolk and friends. It is certain that she wrote out of her heart. And that is the chief revelation of her secret in reaching the hearts of others. The story of her own home is told in its varied phases, as she describes the homes

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of many of the characters to whom she has given such names as pleased her fancy. It was in many respects a home *sui generis.* Her Father was a man of books and the learning which books impart, yet conspicuously lacking in what is called the practical ability to plan for material success, and so his home, while always the abode of love and gentleness, was often pinched by abject want. Her Mother was prudent, wise, self-sacrificing, and the main dependence in managing the stinted and deficient means at her command. The Father often taught the deepest wisdom in his lectures and "Conversations," and sometimes his talks were the shabbiest nonsense, but to his children, and especially to the daughter who became the most successful story-teller to children of this generation, he was always an object of deepest reverence. Her youthful and life long ambition was to make a place of rest for the tired Mother, a secure home for the Father amid his books and friends. True to this she turned away from opportunities for a life of ease that would have separated her from their home, and gave herself unwearingly to sacrifice and toil. Literally she lived for others, and often was she comforter and helper to struggling souls when her own heart was in deeper sorrow than they had ever known.

Miss Alcott did not early find her true vocation. Her apprehension of it, indeed her fitness for it, came slowly. At first she tried teaching, but as her biographer says, "without satisfaction to herself or perhaps to others." She understood children, but the routine of school duty was irksome to her. Sewing furnished her with employment when other resources failed; but though conscientious in her task, her heart was not with her busy fingers. Stories were even then taking shape in her brain, and little sketches were written, which, after many disappointments, were at last accepted for the columns of a paper. Writing to her sister in these trying days, she said: "I am grubbing away as usual, trying to get money enough to buy Mother a nice warm shawl. I have eleven dollars, all my own earnings,—five for a story, and four for the pile of sewing I did for the ladies of Dr. Gray's society, to give him as a present." When she was able to obtain ten or fifteen dollars for a story she thought herself highly favored. But she had many dark days, and once the impulse to self-destruction almost over powered her will. Amateur theatricals were fascinating to her; she wrote a few plays; and was for awhile determined to take to the stage for a livelihood, but reluctantly yielded to the dissuasions of her family and friends. In 1862 she went to Washington as nurse in the Soldiers' Hospital, where she contracted typhoid fever, and barely escaped with her life. Recovering she again resumed her pen, and henceforth its use was her great delight and her constantly growing pecuniary reward. At the opening of the year 1864, she writes in her diary: "I find I have earned by my *writing* alone nearly *six hundred dollars* since last January, and spent less than a hundred for myself, which I am glad to know." It was not until four years later, however, that she found her real

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place and power as a writer, for then she wrote "Little Women," and demonstrated that her forte was furnishing stories for children. Prosperity and the full ability to realize her life-long ambition then came upon her. In twenty years her profits from the sales of her books amounted to $200,000. But broken health came also. She never fully regained the vitality so severely drained by the fearful fever contracted in nursing the "Boys in blue." She was overworked and anxious in the days when success seemed out of her reach, and she thus makes mournful record in 1874: "When I had the youth I had no money; now I have the money I have no time; and when I get the time, if I ever do, I shall have no health to enjoy life. I suppose it's the discipline I need; but it's rather hard to love the things I do and see them go by because duty chains me to my galley. If I come into port at last with all sails set, that will be reward perhaps." "Life always was a puzzle to me, and gets more mysterious as I go on. I shall find it out by and by and see that it's all right, if I can only keep brave and patient to the end."

But she was not always despondent. Her heart was grateful for the prosperity that came to her, and she had the rare felicity of realizing many of the desires of her youth. The good Mother was lifted out of drudgery and anxious economy to rest and enjoyment, and the philosophical Father was made secure in the companionship of his literary friends and his books.

The volume before us will be a revelation to many concerning the poetic power possessed by Miss Alcott. Her biographer has, with rare good taste, made selections from her verse as an introduction to each chapter of the charming story, which, as the title page indicates, is largely autobiographic. The book will have of course, a large sale, and its perusal cannot be other than beneficent to all its readers.

Nora's Return. A Sequel to "The Doll's House" of Henry Ibsen. By Ednah D. Cheney. Boston. MDCCCXC. Lee & Shepard. 4to., pp. 64. 50 cents.

The Drama of "The Doll's House" is the story of an erring couple who separate, the wife and mother leaving her children with their father. Devoted to her husband, tenderly attached to her children, but also so attached to her old home as to be guilty of forgery in order to save her kindred from want and disgrace, and otherwise so conducting, though with highest and purest motives, as to waken hateful suspicions in her husband's mind, the drama closes unsatisfactorily, mystifying and perplexing all who read it. Did Nora, the wife, ever come back? Mrs. Cheney shows that she did come back. Walter Besant in his attempt to answer the same question, greatly misinterprets the character of Nora, and this incites Mrs. Cheney to the task which she has so delightfully executed, making indeed a sequel to the drama, but also a story so complete in itself that it may be read and admired almost independent of any knowledge of "The Doll's House." It is told in the form of a diary, seldom an agreeable style

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of narrative, but here one that could not well be surpassed in revealing the inner life and the heart experiences of the unfortunate couple, and the happy reunion after each has discovered that the great lesson of life is that we must "learn the duty of truth and the responsibility of life in serious service for others." The story is, for itself well worth its price, and its purchase is still further commended by the assurance of the publishers that "The profits will be given to the Book Table of the New England Hospital Fair, to be opened at Horticultural Hall, Boston, December 1, 1890."

Easter Gleams. By Lucy Larcom. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 16mo., pp. 45. 75 cents.

This little volume, beautifully printed and bound in parchment-paper cover, with appropriate decorations, contains poems by the gifted author, all having some bearing on the thought of the Life Immortal, or expressing the elevating aspirations and thoughts which belong to the Easter season. And since each returning Lord's Day commemorates his rising from the dead, the work is appropriate for reading and suggesting meditation "All the Year round." In the last stanza of "The Day of Joy," Miss Larcom thus shows what makes the chief glory of Easter Day:

> "Feeding on husks no more, the wanderers gather
> Around the hearthstone of the House above:
> The Son has brought them home unto the Father;
> His Spirit in their hearts is peace and love.
> Souls speak in the lost language of communion,
> And angels echo back the words they say.
> Earth is restored to heaven in deathless union:—
> This is the glory of our Easter Day."

The Camden Mountains, the Norway of America. A Handbook of Mountain, Ocean and Lake Scenery on the coast of Maine, with sixty illustrations, by Wm. Goodrich Beal. Boston. Lee & Shepard. 1890. 4to., pp. 56. 25 cents.

This is a charming illustrated description of an hitherto almost untravelled region, rich in scenic beauty and blessed with pure and healthful and refreshing air. Easy of access, being within twelve hours sail of Boston by the Bangor Steamer, it invites the tourist who is in search of beauty, and the weary who need healthy recreation. Mr. Beal's illustrations are works of art.

Why I am a New Churchman. By the Rev. Chauncey Giles. Philadelphia: American New Church Tract and Publication Society. 1890. 16 mo. pp. 126. 25 cts.

The spirit of this book is admirable; its style is clear and lucid compared with the average presentations of Swedenborgianism, which are generally misty and obscure. In many things we find ourselves in accord with the sentiments advanced by Mr. Giles; but from others we decidedly dissent, as they seem to us utterly impossible and unthinkable. God cannot, to our thinking, be both human and divine; *i.e.*, in the sense of being the Deity; an uncreated and a

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created source of wisdom and of love; a finite and an infinite; capable of dying, and actually dying for man, and incapable of death or any change akin to death. Nor does it seem to us consistent with common sense to concede to man in the flesh the disposition and power to change the love and ambition of his soul,—to concede that death works no change except on the flesh which it destroys,—and to hold that disposition and power can only move hereafter in the groove in which they were running when enshrined in the flesh at the hour of release from the flesh. The general drift of Mr. Giles, discourse on this point seems to be towards this fatality; although it is possible, from this expression: "The gulf which separates the righteous from the wicked is fixed in their own natures, and can be crossed only by a change of character" (p. 62), that he means to indicate that a change of character is as possible in the spiritual world as it is in the material world. If this is not so, Swedenborg attributes to death, which is an ordinance of God as much as life is, a power as atrocious as Calvin attributes to God's arbitrary decree of reprobation; all the difference being that in the one case God puts his decree in the arrest of what makes the peculiar significance of manhood, and in the other acts as arbitrarily wholly outside of manhood. In either event man is fated and not free.

Little Saint Elizabeth and Other Stories. By Francis Hodgson Burnett. Illustrated by Reginald B. Birch. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890. Square 8 vol. pp. 146. $1.50.

The heroine of the charming story which gives the title to this latest work of Mrs. Burnett, is a little French girl brought up in a château in Normandy, by an aunt who was a devoted Catholic recluse. The sudden death of this aunt who has trained the child to deeds of self-denial and charity, necessitates the removal of the child to the home of her bachelor uncle in New York, who, in seeking to adapt her to a new life, greatly disturbs and worries her. She is very lonely, very much distressed as tidings reach her of the imminent starvation of her former neighbors and friends who were so greatly dependent on her aunt's charity; and conscience alarms and tortures her as she finds her efforts to obtain money to send them, wholly fruitless. With no one to direct her she seeks to dispose of her rich and rare jewels, and unwittingly ventures into the worst part of the great city, whence she is rescued by her uncle. A fearful sickness follows, on her recovery from which she is made happy by being allowed to relieve the distresses of others. Part of the story is intensely pathetic, and Elizabeth is as sweet and lovely a girl character as is Mrs. Burnett's wonderful boy hero, Little Lord Fauntleroy. The "Other Stories,"—three in number,—are of refreshing fairy-land fervor, with features of decidedly modern humor. "Behind the White Brick," a story of the marvellous revelations of dream land, admitting us to the workshop of Santa Claus, will be a delight to every child. Nor can it fail to please, perhaps to profit, many adults.

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Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of Dr. George De Benneville, late of Germantown, Pennsylvania, etc., etc. Germantown, Pa: Converse Cleaves. 1890. 12 mo. pp. 55.

This is a new edition of Dr. De Benneville's wonderful trance or vision about the year 1735, in which the salvation of all souls was revealed to him. It was first brought to public notice by Rev. Elhanan Winchester in his course of Lectures on the Prophecies, in London, 1789–90, but was not published till after De Benneville's death, in 1793, and has passed through several editions in German and English. Mr. Cleaves publishes the edition before us as an expression of his admiration of Dr. De Benneville, and because, as he avers, all prior editions are out of print. An edition was published, however, in Schwenksville, Pa., in 1882. It belongs to a class of literature once quite common and highly thought of, but now generally regarded as a mere curiosity in mysticism Dr. De Benneville was a man above all suspicion of deceit, who doubtless believed that what he related actually occurred, and was not merely the creation of his own imagination; and therefore this extraordinary vision or trance was a solemn reality to him. He came to America in 1741, and was more or less engaged in preaching the doctrine of Universal restoration for half a century. He was also a skilful physician. He is supposed to have translated into English, Siegvolck's [George Klein Nicolai's] "Everlasting Gospel," published in 1753, by Christopher Sauer, at Germantown, Pa. To the edition of the trance before us, Mr. Cleaves has added an appendix of brief but interesting biographical facts.

The Expositor's Bible:
Judges and Ruth. By the Rev. Robert A. Watson, M. A. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1890. Crown 8 vo. pp. viii, 424. $1.50.

The Prophecies of Jeremiah. With a sketch of his Life and Times. By the Rev. C. J. Ball, M. A. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1890. Crown 8 vo. pp. vi, 424, $1.50.

These initial volumes of the series of the Expositor's Bible for 1890, are entitled to the high praise of being in scholarship and freshness of treatment, fully up to the excellence of the preceding series.

Mr. Watson is a born interpreter, evidently having a mission, to the fulfilment of which he gives himself in the full intensity of his rich gifts. The plan of topical rather than textual exposition, he follows with analytical powers of the highest order, treating his subject with a frankness which well matches his thoroughness. He is radical in the true sense of digging to the foundation not for the purpose of undermining it by destructive criticism, but of building upon it a structure which cannot be shaken; and he is conservative in the best sense, in that he would remove mere rubbish and gloss and retain that which is substantial and useful. Pertinent lessons, valuable for all time, are drawn from Samson, Jael, Jephthah, Ruth and Naomi, and the various conditions and surroundings of their times. The preacher will find that they make this portion of the Old Testament

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wonderfully suggestive to him in his dealing with common exposures, temptations and dangers. Deserving of all praise is this luminous treatment of the record of a peculiar period in Jewish history, and a touching story of domestic life among the Jewish people.

Mr. Ball, in his *Prophecies of Jeremiah*, deals more with textual difficulties than with analysis of character, and application of ancient lessons to modern needs; though he is not wholly unmindful of nor unskilful in the latter. He is attempting an exposition of one of the most obscure books in the sacred volume, and shows himself well equipped for the work of throwing light on the dark places. He is liberal but cautious in his criticisms, and evinces patient and thorough scholarship. A fine example of this,—barring an attempt at its close to institute a comparison between a temporal and an assumed eternal penalty,—is given in the 10th chapter of the book, on the question of the Sabbath. His learning is manifest on every page, and his special study has been painstaking and fruitful of valuable results. The scholar as well as the popular reader will appreciate his work.

Marion Graham, or "Higher than Happiness," by Meta Lander. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard 12 mo. pp. 436. $1.50.

If this well-written and suggestive story gets the reading it deserves it will take rank with "John Ward, Preacher," and "Robert Elsmere," although like them it has not the ending which we had hoped for as we were reading it. In its theological teachings it is better than they; and the general lesson which it conveys, as put in the words of Thomas Carlyle: "There is in man a Higher than love of happiness; he can do without happiness, and instead thereof find blessedness," is undoubtedly true and important; but is taught in this instance at least, needlessly, as it seems to us, for a happiness in which was no incongruity with blessedness, was defeated through carelessness and unnecessary misunderstanding. The author does some fine work in character painting, makes her heroes and her heroine learn many grand lessons in the school of experience, illustrates with delicate touches the workings of the deeper feelings of the heart, and leaves a wholesome influence in the mind and heart of the reader.

The World Moves: All Goes Well. By A Layman. Boston: J. G. Cupples Co. 1890. 16 mo, pp. vii, 200.

"A Layman" represents himself as a member of an Orthodox church, and "chairman of a very important committee." But as he has no sympathy with what is considered the distinguishing doctrines of Orthodoxy, the vicarious atonement of Christ, and the never ending punishment of human souls, and avows himself a believer in Universal Salvation, we are unable to see how he can reasonably or honestly "train in such company." He tells some startling stories, such as the confession of an Orthodox minister, that he believes that all souls will be saved, and yet sides with the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, as against the Andover School, in insisting that

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no man shall be sent as a missionary to the heathen who believes in the possibility of their repentance and salvation after death. There are many excellent things in the book; many, many indications that the theological world moves towards more liberal, more Christian beliefs. As a revelation from one inside the lines it indicates that those who stand outside have not erred in their estimate of the nature and extent of the rapidly advancing changes. The book is a handsome specimen of the publisher's skill and taste.

Crime: Its Nature, Causes, Treatment and Prevention. By Sanford M. Green, late Judge of the Supreme and Circuit Courts of Michigan, etc., etc. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Company, 1889. 8vo. pp. 346.

"An experience of more than half a century as a practicing lawyer, a prosecuting attorney and a circuit Judge," gives the author a right to speak on the theme which he here discusses. Crime, which he defines as consisting "of those wrongs which the government notices as injurious to the public, and punishes in what is called a criminal proceeding in its own name," has its source in heredity, accidental prenatal influences, intemperance and the traffic in intoxicants, ignorance, idleness, avarice, cupidity and personal ambition, the conflict between capital and labor, the debasing influence of a demoralized newspaper press, cheap sensational literature, evil example and associations with the corrupt and vicious, nurseries afforded to it by many of our jails and prisons, the grinding slavery of fashion, and, in former days, religious fanaticism. In nearly a hundred and fifty pages, Judge Green considers and demonstrates that these are the causes of crime. He arraigns the "manufacture, sale, and intemperate use of intoxicating liquors," as constituting "the most villainous system that the worst enemy of man could devise for the degradation and ruin of the human race." And he states that his half century experience in the courts leads him to the conclusion "that fully nine-tenths of the crime committed in this state [Michigan] is caused, directly or indirectly, by the use of intoxicating liquors." And he thinks that "it may well be asked whether the manufacturer and the seller are not equally responsible with the man who commits a wrong in consequence of its use."

Turning to the treatment of crime, Judge Green gives a chapter to a careful and exceedingly interesting statement of the history of its treatment, and reasons from the advances which have been made, the results which have followed various experiments, and his own personal experience with criminals, "that all crime should be treated as a disease." And he adds, and we think with great wisdom: "This view of the character of crime and its treatment will be found on examination to satisfy all the demands of justice, and to secure all the ends which legislators have sought to obtain through the infliction of punishment. It excludes all idea of vindictiveness, or the rendering of evil for evil, and harmonizes all the dealings of governments and communities with offenders against the criminal laws with the highest standard of benevolence and human kindness and duty. It eliminates

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from punishment the character of atonement or retribution suffered as an expiation, to appease the wrathful indignation of society or the State, and removes all the difficulties which have puzzled moralists and confused courts and juries, who have based the right to condemn and execute judgment for wrong done upon the mental or moral condition of the perpetrator at the moment when the act was done." The cure of the offender is the most important and the most just object of what is called punishment. And until this is obtained, society has no protection against crime. The only principles "on which crime may be treated, with the reasonable hope of diminishing the number of criminals in a degree proportionate to the increasing intelligence and material prosperity of our people, ... is the great principle of humanity and common brotherhood, which forbids that we shall ever cease to seek to do good to the meanest of God's children in their most miserable conditions, and commands us to do them no evil." Punishment, in the sense of suffering, mental anguish, remorse, is ordained of God, and is inevitable. Time, place, surroundings, furnish no exemption from it. No man can vicariously suffer the penalty due to another. No state nor court need fear that the humanity of its treatment of the criminal exempts him from bearing the full penalty of his guilt.

Present laws, and their mode of administration, are not, Judge Green argues, well adapted to the best treatment of the criminal. Definite sentences of imprisonment for a specified time, at the expiration of which the prisoner is set at liberty, however desperate his character may be, defeat, in many instances, all the ends of human justice; as their full infliction on others who have for the first time been over-mastered by temptation and are in little or no danger of falling again, violate all the requirements of equity. Greater power should be given to the courts to administer "a system of indefinite sentences, with or without some maximum limit of time." Another defect, which the author does not dwell upon, but which seems to us an exceedingly vicious one, is the congregate system of imprisonment, in the workings of which, criminals of all grades are brought in daily contact with each other, and, as one of its inevitable consequences, reform is rendered difficult and sometimes is wholly baffled by the black mailing indulged in when the term of imprisonment is ended; the man who desires to be honest, respected, industrious, being hounded and terrorized over by some practiced criminal or criminals with whom he has been associated during his term of imprisonment. What is known as the Separate system of confinement requires greater outlay of money, but is more effective in reforming the criminal.

For the prevention of crime, Judge Green counts largely on the influence of education. He would prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, but he argues that communities are not yet educated up to an apprehension of the enormities of the evil, and so laws are not enforced. In so far as this may incite to giving attention to this evil in public school instruction, the plea for education in order to the

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stringency and enforcement of enactments is well; but to say that our law-makers and law-officials do not do their duty because they do not know their duty is not according to facts. Our legislators need little instruction as to the inevitable effects of the liquor traffic; our municipal officials cannot plead ignorance as the reason for their mental reservation in taking oath to enforce all the statutes. The political power, the weight of purse of the liquor manufacturer and dealer, as effectively blinds the politician to the light which he well knows is shining, as does the power of trusts and other monopolies warp his making and executing other laws which concern public well-being. Judge Green's advice as to the conflict of labor with capital, is sound and practical. Co-operation, share in profits, will harmonize the two. We heartily commend the book before us as wise, judicious, important and practical in its treatment of its theme.

American Men of Letters. William Cullen Bryant. By John Bigelow. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 16mo. pp. vii. 355. $1.25.

The purpose of the publishers of this series of American Men of Letters, to place in the reach of all who cannot afford to purchase the more expensive and elaborate lives, biographies which shall convey a correct and just portrait of their subjects, is most admirably met in Mr. Bigelow's presentation of the life of William Cullen Bryant, Journalist and Poet. Associated with Mr. Bryant for many years in the management of *The Evening Post*, and held in such close and confidential relations as to have been named by Mr. Bryant as one of the executors of his will, Mr. Bigelow had opportunities, gifts and sympathetic taste which fitted him in an exceptional degree for producing the admirable work which lies before us. The beginnings of Mr. Bryant's literary career in the production of "Thanatopsis," and the painstaking character of his habits of composition, give us the secret of the permanent and enduring place which he won in American literature. The personality of his character and labors in journalism, as also his independence as a politician and an editor are ably portrayed; while we are also led by Mr. Bigelow into the very privacy of his domestic life, ruled by his loving and devout spirit, the source of the sweetness and affection of his home. Some especially pleasant glimpses are also given of his thoughtful care for his dependents, his kindliness of heart to his neighbors, and the public spirit which led him to suggest and to aid comforts and conveniences in which all whom he might reach could share. He was a man of deep but unostentatious piety, living in the fear of God, and seeking as his chief ambition the harmony of his ambitions and will with the commands and purposes of his Maker, whom he loved and trusted as his Father. To all classes of community, but especially to ambitious youth, his biography furnishes lessons of the highest value.

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XXI. Visit to the Old Home.
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XXIV. Character; Faith; Influence.

The book is printed in the best style of the University Press, John Wilson & Son, Cambridge; which as a printing-house is without a superior. The book is elaborately illustrated by Typogravure pictures.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Hosea Ballou. Frontispiece (Steel).
Hosea Ballou's Birthplace.
The Old School-Street Church.
Hosea Ballou at 50 years of age.
Thomas Whittemore, D.D.
Lucius R. Paige, D.D.
Hosea Ballou 2d, D.D.
Rev. John Boyden.
E. H. Chapin, D. D.
A. A. Miner, D.D., LL.D.
Hosea Ballou's Statue in the Mount Auburn Cemetery.

These pictures, save the steel engraving, are new. That of Mr. Ballou at 50 years of age is from a recently discovered engraving representing him at that age. The picture of his birthplace and of his statue in the Mount Auburn Cemetery, are from photographs specially taken for this work. New likenesses are given of his "spiritual sons," Rev. Drs. Whittemore, Paige, Hosea Ballou 2d, and John Boyden; the pictures of Drs. Chapin and Miner represent them as the young men they were when "Father Ballou's" colleagues.

A practical advantage of the Universalist Publication Fund is that this expensive book can be sold for one dollar.

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THE

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OCTOBER, 1890.

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RICHARD EDDY, D.D., - EDITOR.

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ARTICLE XXIII.

The Psychology and Physiology of Will.

MAN is conscious of the possession of the ability for rational and free action. This is an element of universal consciousness. It is common to humanity at large, as is evident from all language and literature.

This consciousness is the psychological basis of responsibility and moral obligation. We are responsible for our conduct because we are free. We can choose between right and wrong lines of conduct. For this power of free choice we are responsible. It is at this point that obligation emerges and actions become moral. This has been regarded as an axiom in moral philosophy.

Without freedom to choose between right and wrong, virtue and vice, moral action and moral character would be impossible. This freedom of choice is the recognized ground of responsibility in ethics, law and religion.

Our experience of remorse for wrong conduct depends upon our conscious mis-use or abuse of this power. Our moral judgment of the conduct and character of others is determined by what we regard as satisfactory evidence of the same fact. Conscious liberty of action determines responsibility and measures obligation. In this conscious power of free choice we have the psychological ground of all moral life and experience.

Man is a moral being, has a moral nature, performs moral actions, feels moral obligation, is under moral law, builds moral character, realizes moral ideals, and has a moral history. The indestructible elements in all moral action, experience and life, are reason, conscience and will. The possession and exercise of these attributes of mind make man's moral nature, give him his moral experience, and create his moral history. The moral action of the individual and the moral life of society are inseparable from the freedom of the will. Morality and will are united in man's moral consciousness, and are necessary ele-

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ments of all moral experience. Without will morality is a fiction, obligation a delusion, and duty without foundation.

The proof of the existence and freedom of the will is found in consciousness. We feel conscious that we are free in choice, volition and action. Consciousness is the only witness there is to our thoughts, emotions and volitions. It reveals to each person what he is, what he thinks, purposes, resolves, and determines to do. To reject its testimony is to embrace universal skepticism and deny the possibility of all knowledge. This would be as fatal to the philosophy of necessity as to the philosophy of freedom, and destroy the science of physics as effectually as it would the science of theology.

The will is not desire. It is not a part or a function of the intellect or emotions. Its function is not thought or feeling, but choice, volition and action. It directs thought, controls feeling, and restrains appetite and passion. And while it is associated with these in the unity and continuity of man's mental and moral life, its function is not the same but different from theirs. The intellect and emotions are the channels through which motives reach the will, and by their influence condition its action, but they have no causal relation to the will. The will is the executive, directing, restraining, causal and creative faculty. Its modes of action are choice, determination, purpose and volition. It prevents desires, appetites, passions, and impulses from ripening into irrational, immoral and criminal actions. It selects the motives from which we act, determines our line of conduct, and concentrates all the powers of man's nature in rational and moral effort. These facts are given us in consciousness and experience, and are among the common and universal elements of knowledge.

The philosophical, ethical, and practical bearings of the doctrine of will make a clear conception and right understanding of it a matter of vital importance. Such an understanding can only be attained by a thorough investigation of the phenomena of voluntary action from the standpoint of both psychology and physiology. This is necessary because the will has both psychological and physiological relations. It acts

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under psychological and physiological conditions and limitations. It is a spiritual cause operating through a vital organism.

The choice, purpose and volition of the will are known to us only through consciousness. This is the psychological side of voluntary action. But choice, purpose and volition can only be converted into an act by controling the voluntary, nervous, and muscular organism of man. This is the physiological side of voluntary action. A philosophical and scientific interpretation of the phenomena of will, therefore, can only be given by studying man's voluntary actions under the combined light of psychology and physiology.

It is the function of philosophy to reveal the causes of phenomena, and of science, to discover their laws and relations. In this study psychology as the science of consciousness or the philosophy of mind, will give us the cause and conditions of rational and responsible action, and physiology will point out the vital and organic relations, implications and laws of action. Psychology in the study of man's faculties in the light of their own action, of which we are conscious, has revealed the existence of will as the power of free choice, and determinate volition. This fact will not be questioned. That such is the revelation of consciousness to the student of psychology, all admit. As a revelation of consciousness it must be true, or we reject the testimony of the witness as not trustworthy. This would remove the ground of all knowledge by the loss of confidence in our knowing faculties.

The effort to discredit the testimony of consciousness as a witness for the freedom of the will on the ground that it is a function of brain [1] action, is suicidal. If consciousness is only a function of the action of the brain, so is every other mental faculty, according to the philosophy of materialism. If for this reason, it is not to be trusted as the faculty of self knowledge, for the same reason we must discredit the results of the action of all our mental faculties. But if consciousness is an unreliable witness when it testifies to the free-

[1] Body and Will, by H. Maudsley, p. 15, 36, 71.

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dom of the will in choice and volition, we cannot trust it when it testifies to any other fact of our inner or outer life. This outcome of the philosophy of materialism is not knowledge, but the impossibility of knowing anything. It does not prove that materialism is true, but that there is no truth man can know. It is not science, for it destroys the foundation of all science.

Consciousness reveals to us the human will as a cause. Says Professor Bowen: We have the direct evidence of consciousness arising from every volition or voluntary act, that the human will is a cause—an efficient cause—not a mere antecedent. A limited cause, indeed, but supreme within its proper dominion.[2] Cousin maintains that: We receive our very idea of cause from the exercise of the will, which may be a cause but cannot be an effect.[3] In the judgment of these eminent philosophers the will is a cause.

In becoming conscious of its own activity as distinguished from merely passive feeling, as for instance in directing thought by a volition of the will, the mind becomes conscious of itself as force, and it is not mere sequence, "but force which is the essential point in the idea of causation."[4] We also discover as often as we move an object with our hands that our will is capable of exerting force on the world of matter around us. We are conscious of possessing the power of free action, and this consciousness proves the existence and freedom of the will.

It will not be denied by any rational and intelligent mind, that the will is a cause, that is to say, the action of the will is the action of a particular kind of cause, or a cause acting under particular conditions. "The will is a rational cause, or a power of action directed by reason, in view of motives, and for an end." We are conscious of power in ourselves to bring about events, cause changes, convert thoughts into things, influence others, and act on matter; and other reasons lead us to think that every event is produced and every

[2] Metaphysics and Ethics, p. 88. [3] Elements of Psychology, p. 326.
[4] Matter and Life.

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change is caused by a power similar to that in ourselves: that is by will.

There is danger in the doctrine of materialism which reverses the natural relation of things, and asserts that spirit is the product of matter, when matter is the product of spirit. A distinguished English savant, Dr. Carpenter, has said with decisive clearness: "Mind is the sole and single source of power."; [5] Instead of saying that mind is a creation of matter, we should say that matter is a creation of mind. Of all the properties of matter there is not one which was not bestowed on it by mind. Body and motion are mere phenomena. The first is only an image of substance, the last only an image of action; [6] but substance and action are both only effects of intelligent force, that is, of force operating in view of an end. Man's actions are not causeless because they are free. As possessing will he is the cause of his own acts. He is a rational, free and responsible cause. The power of volitional action belongs to him as a cause. In the exercise of this causal efficiency, he is free. The source of this power is within himself; and for its proper use, he is responsible. Consciousness reveals the fact that a rational action cannot be performed without a motive. Motiveless actions are not rational. They have no moral character. They contain no moral elements. To act without motives is a proof of insanity. To act with regard to motives proves that the will is free. Motives are never addressed to things, but always to persons or powers. They perform their true function only when man is free; under the law of necessity they have no place. They can be rationally applied only where man has freedom of choice.

Motives do not cause, they only condition action. Light is not the cause but the condition of vision. It is the man that sees and not the light. He is the cause of his own vision, but the presence of light is the necessary condition for the exercise of the power. So man is the cause of his own actions. The motives do not act but the man. They are the condition without which rational, moral action is impossible. Man acts with

[5] Mental Physiology. [6] Matter and Life.

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reference to motives, but is not controlled by their influence. They are not persons and have no causal power. We are conscious that while we act with regard to motives, we are perfectly free in choice, volition and action. There is no feeling of coercion or sense of being controlled by necessity. We are conscious of the presence of motives in the mind as thoughts, feelings, desires, affections, hopes, fears, aspirations and sympathies, but not as causes. They are present as reasons for action, and as inducements to action, but never as the cause of action. The only responsible cause of action is man himself, as endowed with reason, conscience and will.

Moral certainty, such as results from a well-developed and strong character, does not destroy man's freedom, because freedom is not opposed to certainty, but to necessity. An event may be made certain by the free act of man himself, but if he acts under a law of necessity like that which causes the sun to shine, his action is not only certain, but necessary. There is in it no element of freedom. It is the motion of a thing and not the act of a man. No moral character or responsibility attaches to it. It is mechanical and not moral. It is the result, not of moral certainty, but of physical necessity. It is the necessary and not the certain that destroys freedom, and changes man from a person to a thing. The moral action of Christ and God are certain, but they are free. The more perfect man's moral character, the more certain his moral conduct and the larger his moral freedom.

When we come to investigate rational and voluntary action from the standpoint of physiology we find it fails to give any satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of will. An able writer and learned physician in discussing this subject says:

"In all the organs of the body, except the brain, great advances have been made in the knowledge of their physiological laws, and the amount of this knowledge bears a close relation to the obvious adaptation of each organ to the discharge of its function. The adaptation of the heart to the propulsion of the blood, the adaptation of the intestinal canal to processes of digestion and nutrition, and of the lungs to those of respiration are so obvious and simple that a positive knowledge of the

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laws of their action has been gained, and upon these a rational pathology of their disease has been founded. But it is quite otherwise with the noble organ which lords it over the rest of the body· The mass of that which we call nervous substance, because nerve function is found to inhere thereto, possesses no adaptation which we can trace to the ends to which the Creator has made it subservient. An agglomeration of delicate cells in ultimate connection with minute tubes or filaments which communicate impressions made upon the cells at one end to those cells which lie at the other extremities; this is the nervous apparatus. Its *modus operandi* is, and probably always will be, utterly unknown to us." [7]

M. Ribot says of the study of abstract concepts, "They still fall outside the province of physiological psychology." [8] It is here stated by an eminent specialist that the form of mental action in which the power of will is specially manifested is outside of the investigations of the science of physiological psychology. Volitions or acts of will in consciousness do not have their physical basis in any special organ or area of the brain. There is no special organ of will. All the central organs have pre-eminently the property of automatism. [9] It is here stated there are no known parts of the brain adapted to cause volitions.

Concerning the physiological process, says Exner, from which we abstract the conception of attention, we know absolutely nothing. [10] This learned specialist in mental physiology holds that we know nothing of the physiology of the act of will by which special attention is directed to any thing or subject. It is thus seen that the most learned and acute physiologists in Europe and America admit that they can see no adaptation in the nervous organism to the function of thought or rational voluntary action. [11] This they do at the same time that they claim that the brain and nervous system are concerned in such action, but in a way of which they have no

[7] Bucknell and Tuke on Insanity, p. 342.

[8] M. Ribot, German Psychology of the Day, p. 306.

[9] Physiological Psychology, p. 536.

[10] Herman's Hand Book of Physiology, vol. 2, p. 283.

[11] See Tyndal, Tuke, Carpenter, Ladd and Winslow.

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knowledge, and on which the science of physiology has thrown no light. To claim in the face of these facts, as some physiologists do,[12] that the brain is the cause, and the only cause of thought and volition, is to build a theory, not on evidence, but ignorance. They draw their own conclusions not from what they know, but from what they do not know, and then claim that these groundless assumptions and wild speculations are science.

Physiology reveals the fact that there is more than one factor concerned in voluntary action. Speaking on the subject of directing and fixing the attention, "It is a principle of wide reach," says Wundt, "that the degree of apperception is not to be measured according to the strength of the external impression, but according to the subjective activity by which the consciousness is applied to a definite sense stimulus!"[13] The subjective activity which applies the consciousness to this or that presentation of sense rather than to some other is an activity of will.

We incline to attend to the stronger of two excitations of sense, but within certain limits we can attend where we will.[14] We also incline to attend to objects lying in the point of regard of the field of vision, but we can will to attend to objects lying in the outward portions of the field.[15] The voluntary direction of the attention in this case determines the apperception of these objects, to the neglect of those lying nearer and in more favorable parts of the field. The degree of attention is determined not by sense impression but by an act of will. The direction of thought, fixing the attention, and restraining the emotions are acts of will, every part of which lie in the field of our consciousness. We are conscious of the purpose, the determination, the volition, the effort, the exertion of force, and the result. In these voluntary actions we are not controlled by our sensations, governed by our feelings, or sub-

[12] See Body and Will, by H. Maudsley.

[13] Wundt's Physiological Psychology, vol. 11, p. 387.

[14] Physiological Psychology, p. 540.

[15] Helmholdt's Physiology of Optics, p. 740.

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jugated by our passions. These are all held in subjection by the will while it acts in direct opposition to their impressions and demands. Of this we are perfectly conscious. We know it as well and as perfectly as it is possible for us to know anything.

Physiology shows that what are called the voluntary nerves and muscles are adapted to the service of the will as the voluntary faculty of man's nature. The voluntary nerves and muscles are so called on account of the muscular system being acted on by impulses transmitted from the center and for a definite purpose. The muscle so moved has been named the voluntary muscle in contrast with the involuntary muscles, such as in the heart or stomach move independent of the will. In the same way nerves that produce muscular movements, such as the motion of the hand in writing, are sometimes spoken of as voluntary nerves. Neither the nerves nor the muscles are voluntary, but these are the instruments of volition, to use the phrase of Sir Charles Bell.[16]

Turning next to the facts of experience, we know certainly that by the exercise of will we set the muscles into action for the accomplishment of work, and we voluntarily stop their activity. In like manner we know that by the same power of will we govern our thoughts; and further, we know that this power of will is essentially connected with our intellectual nature. The voluntary direction of muscular activity is the intellectual direction of it, and intellectual direction is voluntary. "There is no evidence that volition controls nerve action."[17]

What we mean by volition or the exercise of will power is best shown by marking its contrast with nerve action. It is not that which moves the muscles, but that which moves the nerve cells to act on the muscles. It is not that which moves the limbs, but that which determines that they shall be moved. In the case of voluntary muscular activity that which operates, acts directly on the cell. And what is not reflex as not

[16] Chalderwood on Brain and Mind, p. 45.

[17] Brain and Mind, p. 253.

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being the property of the movement of the sensory nerve must be accounted for by an energy from some other source, that is from a sphere external to the nervous system through which it acts.

The unifying power which harmonizes the action of nerves and muscles far apart, is the will, which governs both. How the will exercises this power is not known, but that such control is exercised admits of no doubt; the result being the normal exercise of muscular power according to the purpose of the agent. What takes place within the physiological sphere is the liberation of nerve energy, propagated along the motor nerve, and communicating the impulse needed to liberate muscular energy which thenceforth continues to work according to the will's behest. [18]

We have, according to the revelations of the science of physiology, a nervous and muscular mechanism, created for and adapted to the service of the will as the voluntary faculty of the human soul. [19] This provision made for the exercise of the will in the anatomical and physiological structure of the body, in order to fit man for free, voluntary and responsible action, is conclusive proof of the doctrine of human freedom. The facts of physiology when rightly interpreted do not sustain the conclusions of scientific fatalism.

Mr. Fisk, a disciple of Mr. Spencer, in his Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, [20] says:

"It is the property of tissue that gives the impulse which, when guided by intelligence, we call volition, and it is the abstraction from particular volitions that the metaphysicians personify as will. Physiologically we cannot choose but reject the will; volition we know, and the will we know, but the will apart from particular acts of volition we cannot know."

The existence of the mental attribute of will is here denied that the function of volition may be accounted for as the result solely of nervous action. But the nervous system is the instrument and not the cause of thought and volition. This

[18] Brainand Mind. [19] Draper's Physiology, p. 321.

[20] Cosmic Philosophy, vol. 11, p. 176.

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is the position of Mr. Fisk, himself.[21] If the nervous system is the instrument of mind, and not its cause, the condition only of mental action, as he holds, how can he ascribe volition, a well known mental act, to nerve tissue, without contradicting himself? He not only contradicts himself, he also contradicts a fundamental axiom of science. Wundt, in his Axioms of Physics, in their relation to causality says:[22] "All causes in nature are causes of motion. 2. Every cause of motion is external to the object moved." But Mr. Fisk says the cause of the motion of the body is a part of it, and the impulse of motion in the nerve is self-originated, and not external to it. The cause of motion is nervous tissue,—that is its function, he tells us. The tissue is the instrument of motion, and not its cause. He rejects will, but admits willing or volition. But function implies faculty, work an agent, and an effect a cause. Now what is the faculty of which motion is the function, and what is the cause of which volition is an effect, if there is no such thing as will? Who is the agent in all voluntary work, if man is not free and endowed with free will? This theory of Mr. Fisk involves the absurdity of an act without an agent, an effect without a cause, and intelligent work without a rational force.

Dr. Maudsley, in his work on "Body and Will," advocates the theory that the will is the result of the action of the brain, and in reply to the argument for the existence of mind as distinct from the body, or from matter, based upon the utter unlikeness between the two classes of phenomena, says:

"As it is through self-consciousness that we know the energy which we call will, and as it is through sense consciousness we know the so-called physical forces, it is plain that we have a right to expect them to be alike."

But why not expect them to be alike if they are alike? If the energy of will is physical energy, and like all other forms of physical energy, why do we not know it by sense consciousness as we know other forms of matter? The fact that it is known

[22] History of Philosophy, vol. 11, p. 325.

[21] Cosmic Philosophy, vol. 11, pp. 436, 437.

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in a different way shows that it is a different thing. If it were material we could cognize it through the senses as we do all other material things; the fact that it is unknown to the senses, and is not the condition of any form of sensation shows that it is not material.

The argument he makes for the difference of phenomena yet sameness of substance, based upon our different sensations of matter, is not sound. The two causes are not analagous. The different forms of physical energy are all known through the senses, but the energy of will is not known through sense consciousness at all. We have no sensation of will. With the different forms of matter the substance is material and the organs through which we recognize it are material. We do not cognize will by the use of any material organ; for the reason, evidently, that it is not material. Our knowledge of matter is gained by the conscious use of our senses; but we are not conscious of the use of any material organ, instrument or sense, in self-consciousness, or in the knowledge we have of the energy of our own wills.

In our consciousness of the personal Ego, we are not conscious of matter or body at all. We are only conscious of our bodies through our sensations, and but for our senses we would not know that we had any bodies. The muscular sense gives us the consciousness of the use of the body, and we are always conscious of our effort to use the body as an instrument, but the consciousness that we do use it comes not directly but immediately through our senses. Our consciousness of thought, emotion and will is always direct and immediate, and if there is any thing physical in the process we have no conscious knowledge of it.

The argument of the advocates of philosophical necessity, based upon the influence of circumstances upon man's conduct and character, is not conclusive against the freedom of the will. On this subject John Stewart Mill says:

"That though our character is formed by circumstances, our own desires can do much to shape those circumstances, and that what is really inspiring and ennobling in the doctrine of

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free will is the conviction, that we have a real power over the formation of our own character, that our will, by influencing some of our circumstances, can modify our future habits or our capacities of willing." [23]

Circumstances condition the formation of man's character but do not cause it. The efficient cause of character as the result of continuous action is the will. Circumstances present the occasions of action, and form the conditions under which action takes place, and in that way contribute to character building, but the work is done by man himself. Experience and history alike prove that man can change his circumstances, alter his surroundings, and modify his environment. If society acts on him he acts on society, and if institutions mould his character he creates institutions. If laws and governments influence him, he enacts laws and institutes governments. The fact is, man very largely makes his own circumstances, and establishes his own environment.

The human will is not only a power in the individual, but a power in society as well, and will finally be recognized as the most important factor in civilization. Nature furnishes only the conditions of progress—the raw material of art, science, agriculture, mining, manufactures and commerce. This must be worked up by man to attain results. To do this is the work of man's intellect and will. These are the creative faculties of man's nature and their possession demonstrate his freedom and responsibility.

The fact of heredity is urged as an objection to the freedom of the will. As a biological and physiological law of man's organic being it is regarded as destructive to his free volition and action. The inheritance of a diseased nature and evil tendencies may modify man's power of free action, but it does not destroy it. The law of heredity, as it secures the transmission of man's whole nature to his children, renders certain the transmission and the inheritance of the power of free choice, volition and action with every other mental faculty. Heredity thus makes permanent in the human family free will as a necessary and integral part of man's nature.

[23] Autobiography of John Stewart Mill, p. 169.

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Men, as history and experience prove, have the power to modify and change their nature, and to improve and develop their organisms. If this were not so human nature could never be improved either in the individual or in society. The very object of science, art, law, education and religion is to do this. The very function of medicine, hygiene, sanitary science and social reform is to improve human nature. If this function is discharged man is set free from the slavery to a diseased nature inherited from his ancestors.

There is in man's nature a law of variation as well as a law of heredity. The law of variation grows out of man's spontaneity and liberty and explains the variety and diversity in nature. The law of heredity or inheritance is the outcome of necessity, and explains the unity, uniformity and continuity of nature and humanity. The combined application of these two laws make science and morality possible.

The doctrine of the unity and persistence of force is regarded as destructive to all theories of free will. It is said the amount of force in the universe cannot be increased or diminished, and therefore will cannot be the free cause of action. The doctrine of the unity and indestructibility of force, as known to science, is confined in its application to pure physics. It does not touch the sphere of the will. There can therefore be no conflict between this theory of force as a doctrine of physics and the doctrine of free will, because one is a doctrine of physical and the other of spiritual dynamics. But this scientific doctrine of the unity, and persistence of force does not account for its origin, or point out its cause. Science deals with the phenomena of motion. In physics the existence of force is an inference from the phenomena of motion. If there is motion something must move, and something must move it; in other words, all motion must have a subject and a cause. What is the cause of motion? The answer is, force. What is the origin of force? The answer of modern philosophy is, will. The quantity of motion is not uniform in the universe, but the quantity of force is, and the source of that, is the will of God.

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But the function of the human will is not to create, but to direct force. To accomplish work what is necessary is not a new force, but a new idea, under which old forces form new combinations and produce new results. The mind can create new ideas and form new purposes without which the physical forces never do intelligent and rational work in perfect harmony with the principles of physics.

The doctrine of the will is not, therefore, in conflict with the doctrines of science; and physiology and psychology come into harmony on the subject of will. *William Tucker.*

Article XXIV.

Divine Providence.

From time immemorial nearly all the inhabitants of earth have occasionally knelt in prayer and indulged in hope of blessings from a power superior to themselves; and in many passages of our Sacred Book, we are exhorted to trust in the Lord,—the living God. Still in our day, some have lost all faith in any interposition of Divine Providence in their, or any one's favor. This article is an attempt to ascertain how far and how often and in what way, we may look to and trust in the ruler of the universe for superhuman assistance.

The scientist is not necessarily a student of religion. The mere philosopher regards "the heavens and earth, and all that in them is" as a complex and wonderful machine that somehow got wound up and set to running, and continues to run because it cannot stop itself. The Supreme Being, if there is such a being, occupies a position outside of nature and contemplates the ceaselessly whirling machine, perhaps with satisfaction, perhaps with indifference, but never intermeddles. There is no need of trusting in him, or calling upon him for help, for if he should cease to exist, everything would go on in its old way, just the same. The man of faith also regards the

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universe as a wonderful machine: but a machine in which its creator takes a deep and abiding interest. He intently watches all its movements, great and small, oils its axles with divine grace, keeps each of its parts on its proper track, and repairs all damages that may occur by friction, accident or long usage.

He not only restrains and regulates "the runaway stars and wild, coltish comets," if there are any, but bestows special attention and effort on the earth and its wayward inhabitants, his immortal children. He has given them an abundance of verbal laws; he intently watches their conduct; he hears all their prayers and blasphemies; he forgives the penitent; he punishes the guilty and rewards the virtuous according to their deserts; and has charge of all human affairs. He numbers even the hairs of our heads, and appoints bounds that we may not go beyond. He has raised up inspired teachers and leaders who have written and talked for our benefit, and have revealed to us some of the arcana of the spirit realm. He is ever with us, and is a present and powerful help in time of trouble.

These are the extremes of opinion; and somewhere between them lies the realm of truth and reality.

It is recorded that in olden times Divine Providence manifested itself in the formation of earth and man; in the Noachian flood; in the call of Abraham; in the plagues of Egypt; in the journey of the Israelites through the wilderness and their conquest of the Holy Land; in the sun and moon standing still at the command of Joshua; in Elijah being caught up in a chariot of fire; in the preservation of the three men cast into an extremely hot furnace; in the transmutation of a large quantity of water into excellent wine; in feeding five thousand hungry people on a few loaves and small fishes; in stilling a tempest; and in revivifying bodies absolutely dead. And not the Hebrews alone, but all nations whose traditions have reached us, cherished a belief in many a marvelous, superhuman and supernatural occurence. Now has this widely spread and long continued belief any foundation in fact, or is it a pure delusion? Sift out all the accretions of time, and all the mistakes of ignorant men, and will there

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remain any kernels of truth? In answer to these questions, admit the existence of a person almighty and allwise, and the reality of wonderful works rise at once into the realm of possibility and probability. Being able to do as he wishes, it may be his pleasure, occasionally, to light a sun, form a planet, produce a human race, and in all time and in all ways take the best care of it. No wise man will think of placing bounds to the illimitable. It is impossible to prove that superhuman and supernatural deeds have not been done, or that they may not be done. Beyond all question, the marvelous legends of mythology are unreliable; and many a marvelous story of Divine interposition, for man's punishment or benefit, might be analyzed into natural occurences. For example, it was a blunder that caused our Pilgrim forefathers to settle on the chilly north side, instead of the sunny south side, of Cape Cod. The Indian who is said to have fired several shots at Gen. Washington, without hitting him, probably did not take good aim. The simple reason why Gen. Fighting Joe Hooker was not killed while under fire, was, that he was never exactly in range. The first Monitor appeared at the opportune moment, as a result of the indomitable energy and perseverance of her builder. We do not know, and while in these material bodies cannot know, how a miracle is wrought, or what constitutes a miracle, because we are ignorant of the many laws of nature, and the powers and modes in which spiritual beings act. God may be able to swerve a flying bullet, or the rapid lightning, from its natural course; but he works in the easiest way, and we can imagine more direct ways of protecting those in danger. The Divine mind could confuse the Indian's mind, and thus spoil his aim, and the inspiration of the Almighty, or the stirring exigencies of the times, may have caused John Ericson to hurry up and push forward his marvelous little fighting boat.

It has, however, seemed to us an unwise waste of time and brain power to try to ascertain and explain how the occurrences called miracles might have been wrought. Equally devoid of benefit to us, are the philological and archæological, and meta-

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physical attempts to invalidate the statements preserved in the ancient traditions and literature of the Hebrews. Our faith, hope and moral code, do not depend on any decision respecting Aaron's rod, or the axe borrowed by the sons of the prophets, which accidentally dropped into the water. Given a supreme and intelligent power, and all things, not involving contradiction or absurdity are possible. God could as easily and gently cause the rotary motion of the earth to cease as in the days of Joshua, and even to turn backward as in the days of Hezekiah, as a brakeman can, without a jar, cause a swift railway train to stop. He could cause a mighty wind to sweep back the water in an arm of the Red Sea so that the Israelites could pass over on bare ground, as easily as a farmer can turn the fan of his winnowing machine. The Aurora Borealis would have enabled Joshua to follow up his victory, and a skilful physician might have administered the needed counsel and encouragement to sick Hezekiah. That the one had plenty of light and time, and that the other recovered from his illness, are the main facts; the details are of minor importance. The Almighty could have assisted them, and without doubt he did. We are not acquainted with all the laws of nature, and much less with all the ways of the Author of nature. We do not know how the elements get together to form an apple, a kernel of wheat or a stalk of sugar-cane, yet we enjoy our nice apple pie, just as much. Believing, as we do, in an infinite, almighty, and all-good person, we have no hesitancy in admitting the truth of every wonderful work mentioned in the Bible. But we are incompetent to explain how even the smallest of them was done, and we are not pained or grieved by this ignorance. He knows; and that is enough.

"In the beginning, God, the Elohim, created the heavens and the earth:" This is the key note, modulated in myriad forms, of a book which those trying to find and do the right, read with reverent delight; for those choosing to do wrong, awe and apprehension. If this statement is true, we may trust in Divine Providence as a present help in every time of trouble; if not true, the book should be closed and relegated

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to the realm of exploded theories. We devoutly accept the statement as true, and the book as reliable; and are glad not to find in it any account of a monstrous or disgusting act performed by the Deity. Everything recorded in the Scriptures appears to have been done in accordance with law and order. There are traditions that a woman in Saragossa had a leg amputated, and in answer to the prayers of the priests, a new one grew out on the stump; that the immaculate St. Theresa, when pursued by vile men, found refuge and safety in a rock cavern, whose solid walls opened to receive her, and closed again when she had entered; that Mahomet, with his sabre, cleft in twain the moon; that on the weary flight into Egypt, a third arm grew out from the side of Mary, that she might rest the other two in carrying the infant Jesus; that Buddha allowed himself to be torn in pieces several times, and soon after grew together again, without even a scar; but none of these kinds of stories have any parallel in the Bible. Among the Hebrews, Jehovah walked with dignified steps, and wrought with wise benignity.

In modern times, though often earnestly prayed for, it is not certain that a storm ever abated its fury, or a train of cars ever kept on the rails, or the flames of a burning building ever subsided, that the dying were ever restored to health, or a black hearted sinner was ever made pure and white, in any other manner than the regular working of the common law of cause and result. Chaplains in the army are useful men and their prayers are beneficial, sometimes, to the soldiers, but good generals trust mainly to the weight of the regiments, thorough discipline and wise strategy. Petitions and supplications are always in order, but even the best Evangelical Christians have come to believe that no great reform can be brought about without persevering efforts, good institutions, and wise, stringent laws. The saloon will remain open, and continue its deadly work, until prohibitory enactments, supported by strong public opinion, shut it up. No miracle in favor of temperance or missionary enterprise is expected to occur. Still, "there is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." Still, the prayers of the devout, though they do not change the

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Unchangeable, are beneficial to man; yet we may and should trust in the Lord.

1. We may trust that all beings and things are in the hands and under the control of God. No comet runs lawless through the void; each keeps in its appointed, eccentric orbit. In Christian theology, no Ahriman ever check-mates Ormuzd. In the semi-dramatic poem of Job, Satan, though somewhat sceptical, is respectful to God, and willing to be guided by him. When Diabolus shows restiveness, a strong angel is sent from heaven to bind him for a thousand years, and like Prometheus, he is so bound. All beings and things are in God's hands, surrounded by his spirit, submerged in his love and subject to his will. Nothing, however trifling, is beneath him; and the highest heaven is not above him. In the poet's fervid phraseology, he

> "Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars and blossoms in the trees,
> Lives in all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent,
> Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
> As full, as perfect in a hair as heart;—
> As full, as perfect in vile man that mourns,
> As in the rapt seraph that adores and burns."

All things being thus in his unerring hands, pervaded by his quickening spirit, and subject to his indomitable will, must be in perfect order. The storm that founders a ship, the earthquake that swallows a city, and the pestilence that smites by day and night, as really as the sweeter and gentler incidents of life, are accomplishing his divine behests, and are his divine providence.

To us, the ways of God are mysterious and past finding out. We know not why the sinful are allowed to prosper, and the virtuous doomed to suffer; nor why the lying serpent was permitted to creep into Eden and vaccinate the human race with sin, misery and death. A child can ask questions which the philosopher cannot answer. If we fully trusted in the Lord, we should not seek to know. We see but in part; we absolutely know but little; in our logic we are apt to leave out the

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main factor in the problem of life,—reliance on Divine Providence,—without this, no rest or resignation is possible. We may conjecture and hope that good will spring from seeming evil, and that the wrath of man will redound to the glory of of God. Trusting,—waiting on him relieves us from needless anxiety, and brings calm resignation. Those many bloody wars, those long and bitter slaveries, this awful curse of intemperance, this intense and reckless selfishness, may somehow be working out the highest good for the human race. The old proverb is worth remembering: "Where you can't unriddle, learn to trust."

2. Again, it is convenient to call the various ways in which the Divine energy is exerted in the universe, "the laws of God;" and, reasoning from the nature and attributes of God as revealed in the Scriptures and in the creation, we are compelled to believe that all these laws are universal, unvarying, wise and beneficent. Gravitation, chemical affinity, the production of living creatures, growth, decay, and the results of moral conduct, are the same everywhere. The law of attraction binds and holds every particle of matter in the earth, and in all her sister planets. Experiments made with the prism reveal the remarkable fact that the solar spectrum, the stellar spectrum, and the spectrum from the light in the smith's forge, are fundamentally the same; and hence, that the elements of matter, the phenomena of combustion and the radiation of light, in sun, stars and earth, are identical. The same force that causes the ripe apple to fall to the ground, and water to run down hill, keeps the planets in their orbits, and every star in its place. The caloric that lights the evening lamp, lights the sun. The mental condition and surrounding which fill and thrill the saints above with rapture, would similarly affect the saints on earth. Everywhere, beauty stimulates affection, love begets love, truth nourishes the mind, and justice tries to maintain equilibrium. Under the same circumstances, right and wrong, good and evil, in one soul, are the same in all persons, —blessings or cursings. Having made of one blood all nations, God did not proceed to promulgate one code of laws for

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the Caucasian, another for the Negro and another for the Indian, but one and the same commandments for all; and we may safely conclude that all souls, from the most weak and degraded to the purest and loftiest, are under the same regime.

As it is the duty of all healthy men and women to be active and useful, so it is the duty of all angels to be active and useful. The gospel is equally the power of God unto salvation in Europe, Asia, Africa, and in that realm where once it was "preached to spirits in prison." God's love has neither bound nor locality; his mercy is from everlasting to everlasting; and the vilest sinner that ever died in his sin, has not gone, and cannot go beyond its reach. Death is the finality of nothing but the animal body; the soul lives on in the unchanging realm of law. No being or thing can possibly escape from this well ordered realm, or get out of the boundless ocean of love. With all these facts in our minds, we cannot consistently desire any change in the usual workings of Divine Providence. Under his management, "whatever is, is right," and the strong, steady energy of the Divine will is ever operating the vast mechanism that is working all things together for good. We do not need to have water turned into wine, or the sun and moon to stand still for our accommodation; as they are, is best for us all. It is written, "The number of our months is with Thee;" Thou hast appointed our bounds that we may not pass; and when life's fitful dream is over, it would be wrong for us to pray for the reanimation of the corpse, for all is well. Miracles are good in their time and place, but man never needs a miracle that would clash with the laws of God.

3. Nevertheless, man being comparatively small, weak, blind and ignorant, does at times need superhuman assistance; and such assistance is possible in the nature of things, and is distinctively promised in the Word of God. In the ceaseless struggle for life we not infrequently get to our wits' end; we know not what to do or which way to turn; we are in deep affliction, and there is danger ahead; and without Divine guidance, it seems that we must miserably perish. To persons thus situated, the matter-of-fact St. James says: "If any man

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lack wisdom, let him ask of God who giveth liberally to all men, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him." Such a donation of wisdom is an act not done by man or nature; and it may therefore be called a miracle. A recent occurrence at sea illustrates and explains this interposition of Providence. A steam ship at sea in a storm, was found to be on fire in one of her compartments; and all the usual methods of extinguishing the flames were tried, without effect. The loss of the vessel with all the precious lives on board, seemed inevitable unless Divine help came to the rescue. More wisdom was needed, and it came; possibly from without or from above. A strange but happy thought came to the captain, and, contrary to all nautical customs, he ordered the hatches above the fire to be removed, and all hands to seek shelter below; then with his own hand, he turned the helm so that the ship broached to. Immediately, a mighty wave rolled over the deck, and deluged the fire. One danger was past. Could the ship be righted? With all his force he turned the helm the other way. The noble ship trembled, strained her timbers as if shuddering, and then as by an intense struggle, again put her head to the wind, and vessel and crew were saved. We do not assert that the captain did actually receive wisdom from above, but in every one's voyage of life, superhuman instruction is sometimes needed, and the promise is, that to every one who asks for it, and listens, it is given. This has been tested and proved by millions.

The gift of wisdom from above is miraculous; the way in which it is bestowed is perfectly natural. Reason and revelation lead us to believe that God is a spiritual person. A person is an intelligent being; and as such, God can speak, has many times spoken, and can at any moment speak again, to any one he may choose to address. Even animals can communicate their feelings and wishes to each other. Birds sing to birds; sheep bleat to sheep; and cattle low to cattle; and surely souls can interchange ideas. It is written, "There is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." We do not know in what sweet whisper

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or in what silvery tongue the Deity imparts wisdom and knowledge to man, thongh quite likely it is not in guttural Hebrew, sibilant English, or any other human language. Man need not look up to see the Divine Speaker, nor listen to modulated wavelets of air; when the Father addresses his children, they can both hear and understand him. Babel only confused human tongues; the dialects of different tribes of men are earthborn and perishable, but the language of spirits must be universal and eternal;—the vernacular of all souls. In this language our minds can converse without vocal utterance, the angels can talk to us, the glorified Savior can make known his Gospel to mortals and to "spirits in prison," the Holy Spirit —the comforter, can commune with us, and God impart to us all the wisdom needed. He is not far from each one of us, for in him we live, move and are, and the sublime miracle of inspiration is being wrought.

Turning away with disgust from the theory that denies personality to the Creator, and reduces him to a blind, speechless something that never hears or answers a prayer, the Christian pours out his feelings into the ear of the Eternal, in full assurance of faith. He always prays for a miracle to be done for him or others,—even wisdom to do or bear things in the right way. Thus he manifests his faith in Divine Providence; and without this faith, all interest in religion will die out and fade away. "Lord, increase our faith" in thy miraculous power.

I. C. Knowlton.

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Wellhausen's History of Israel.[1]

A Brief Summary of the Contents.

Prof. Wellhausen's elaborate work, of 550 octavo pages, on the history of Israel, as portrayed in the Hebrew Scriptures, has, probably, been most influential in disseminating the views and methods of the School of Biblical criticism which he represents, with Kuenen, Ewald and others, and which, perhaps, contains the fullest and most satisfactory statement of the conclusions of the so-called Higher Criticism of the Old Testament. Prof. Robertson Smith, in the preface of the English translation, declares that the German edition had produced a profound impression on the scholarship of Europe, and that it (the translation) gives the English reader, for the first time, an opportunity to form his own judgment on questions which are within the scope of any one who reads the English Bible thoughtfully, and without predjudice about its contents.

The thesis maintained by Prof. Wellhausen in the *Prolegomena* is that the Mosaic history is the starting point for Jewish history, and not for ancient Israel. The Mosaic law was not wholly given or formulated during the sojourn in the wilderness, but was a gradual growth of evolution from a Mosaic germ, till it attained the proportions described in the Scriptures, after the Exile when the Pentateuch in its present form was written. The *Law*, instead of being the oldest, is the latest, in its origin and composition, of the three great divisions of the contents of the Old Testament,—*The Law*, *The Prophets* and *Psalms:*—the Prophets, the Psalms, and the Law, probably being the chronological order. The five books of Moses and Joshua constitute one whole:—a Hexateuch, rather than Pentateuch; and this is a composite work constructed of

[1] Prolegomena to the History of Israel, with a reprint of the Article *Israel* from the "Encyclopædia Britanica." By Julius Wellhausen, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Marburg. Translated from the German, under the author's supervision, by J. Southerland Black, M. A., and Allen Menzies, B. D., with preface by Prof. W. Robertson Smith. Edinburg. Adam & Black. 1885.

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three original documents, called *Jehovish*—a narative of ancient traditions, *Deuteronomy*—a law book, and the *Priestly Code*, dating, in the order named, during, and after the Assyrian period of Jewish history.

The temple of Solomon was the occasion of unity of worship in Israel and its centralization, and for which the elaborate ritual described in *Leviticus* was formulated. The tabernacle is a fiction, modelled after the temple and invented to connect the post Exilian religious ceremonies with pre-supposed ancient usages, and to explain the Divine origin of the temple service.

Sacrifices antedate the Hebrew race and religion and were peculiar in Israelitish worship, not in the *manner*, but in the *object* of the offering, which was Jehovah. An elaborate system grew into use for the temple service. When the temple was destroyed it became a memory and tradition, and a patriotic exiled priest committed to writing his memory, or the current tradition, of the national worship, which was published as a programme for the future restoration of the Theocracy: and this document is the basis of the Levitical code contained in the Pentateuch, which was matured after the religious reformation of Israel by Joshua.

The three sacrificial festivals of the Israelites, observed in Canaan, were thank offerings for the fruitfulness of the land—of the firstlings of the flock, and of the fields and vineyards.—the *Passover*, *Pentecost* and *Tabernacles* of the Pentateuch. The people came from Egypt to Canaan. The origin of the Passover was explained to be their departure from Egypt. To the offering of the firstling of the flocks was given this significance by the priests. The coincidence of the spring festival with the traditional account of the Exodus was the occasion of this. What was *cause* in the tradition became *effect* in the Levitical law. In the tradition it was declared that the Exodus occurred *because* Pharaoh refused to permit the Israelites to make the desired offering of the firstlings. God took the Princes (the firstlings of the royal house) of Egypt, instead of those of the flocks, which were required, which constrained Pharoah to consent to the festival. In the Code the Passover

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is described as having *originated* at the time of the Exodus; an invention to connect the existing ceremonies with the historical tradition.

The observance of fasts originated during the Exile, on the historical days of calamity which preceded it, and became fixed institutions for religious observance after the re-establishment of the temple service by Ezra and Nehemiah.

The Sabbath originated in ancient lunar festival days, designated by the phases of the moon. From these the Levitical system of Sabbaths was gradually evolved.

What may be called the hierarchy, or priestly system, grew up as a result of the centralization of worship during the Monarchy, under the patronage of the kings, and was perfected when the Jews had ceased to maintain political independence, and Israel had only a religious and ecclesiastical existence. Instead of a king, the high priest became Israel's chief ruler. Originally, every man was his own priest; afterwards the head of a household or whomever he might appoint to minister at the altar of sacrifice; and still later, during the Kings, a priestly office was established for perpetual service at the temple. As originally established the office was, probably, not a hereditary one, certainly it was not continuously so. The relation of priests and Levites was prescribed at a late date, to connect the priesthood with Moses, who was of the tribe of Levi, and affirm its Mosaic and Divine origin,—a pure fabrication of the post-Exilian priesthood, as is most of what was contained in their "book of beginnings." The elaborated system of tythes was also imposed during this period of the hierocracy, for the support of the hierarchy; and the whole account of the origin of the system is wholly a historical fiction, invented by the authors of the Priestly Code to justify existing legislation by ancient usage and authority. In the author's own language, "the whole story (of Jacob at Bethel) is a projection out of a later time," and "such an arrangement (as the assignment of Levitical cities by Joshua) has been conclusively shown physically impracticable;" in other words, historically and geographically impossible. He further says:

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"After the Exile had annihilated the ancient Israel and completely severed the old connection with the ancient conditions, there was nothing to hinder from planting and portioning the *tabula rasa* in thought at pleasure, just as geographers construct their map of unknown countries."

The books of Judges, Samuel and Kings assumed their present form during the Exile, when the ancient historical traditions and naratives were reconstructed and written to set forth and magnify the importance of the Law, and made to harmonize with Deuteronomy, which was written not long before the Captivity. The Law demanded worship of Jehovah alone, under penalty of oppression by enemies. The anarchy of the period of the judges is accounted for by apostacy. The Monarchy was established to enforce a uniformity of worship. David, the founder of the Jewish dynasty, was glorified as a hero and saint; and his son Solomon exalted to a pious sage, having built the temple and centered the worship of Jehovah in Jerusalem. All the national calamities, including the Exile, are set forth as Divine chastisements for apostacy. Tradition, narative, poetry and fiction all combine to make up the story of the supposed history of Israel from the settlement in Canaan to the Captivity to Babylon.

The Books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were written 300 years later to set forth the same history in the light of the Priestly Code and Pentateuch, which had come into existence and authority during and after the Exile. The difference in the historical accounts is accounted for by their different origin and purpose. The earlier books had a prophetic origin, and were written, probably by pious priests, to trace the rise and fall of the Theocracy, and the origin and perpetuity of the hierarchy. The later books had a priestly origin and were intended to trace the genesis of the existing hierocracy. Though later, they are less reliable as history, and contain more of fiction—the early tradition being more obscured by emendations and additions.

Neither the Hexateuch nor the other historical books give the actual history of ancient Israel, but a reflection of post-exilic

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Judaism is cast upon ancient times, both historic and pre-historic. The basis, or main-stock as it is called, of the fictitious narratives is ancient myths, legends and historical tradition. From primitive stories are evolved the most elaborate historical narratives. In the historical books the original traditions are added to and enlarged, mainly, from the contents; first, of Deuteronomy, and afterwards, of the Pentateuch. In the Hexateuch, independent naratives, constructed of myths, legends and traditions, are woven into a double and three-ply web of fictitious history. From simple myths, originating from the natural reflections of the human mind upon the problems of existence, have been evolved in the progress and processes of Hebrew history a monotheistic scheme of Divine revelation and religious worship.

The stories of the Patriarchs are national legends from which no historical knowledge of them may be obtained,—only of the time when the stories about them arose among the Israelites:—in the language of the book, "this later age is here unconciously projected into hoar antiquity, and is reflected there like a glorified mirage." These stories are so transparent that contemporary history may be plainly read through them. The oldest of them is not earlier than the time of David, and all of them, in the form in which we have them, are much later:—the order of their date is the reverse of that of their chronological representation, that is, the story of Abraham, the first of the Patriarchs, is the latest invention, and that of Jacob and the tribal fathers, the earliest, and the romantic story of Joseph being the oldest of all. In these stories is mirrored the historical relation of the people of Israel to their kindred Hebrew tribes, in the time of the kings and onward. The story of the tribal fathers portrays the relations of the tribes to one another and the final supremacy of Judah. The story of Jacob and Laban reflects the history of the relations of Israel with the Arameans, whose boundary was Mt. Gilead, represented by the peace monument in the story. That of Jacob and Esau represents the relation of Israel and the Edomites, who were a people and a kingdom before Israel, but who became the sub-

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jects of the kingdom of Israel in the reign of David. The stories of Abraham and Isaac are so similar as to suggest that one was copied from the other. The union of Edom with Israel is represented under the patriarchal name of Isaac. All the allied Hebrew tribes are represented as being distinct from the Canaanites and having a Mesopotamian ancestry under the significant name of Abraham. Historical persons are not represented by the patriarchs, but peoples,—except, perhaps, in the case of Abraham, whom the author regards as "a free creation of art." In the traits of personal character ascribed to the patriarchs, they represent substantially the nature and the aspirations of the individual Israelites. Connected with the patriarchal legends, as we have them. are religious myths, portraying them as the founders of the popular worship, by whom the national sanctuaries were established, determined by a theophany.

The story of Moses and the Exodus is mainly an invention of the post-exilian period, founded upon a historical tradition. Moses is probably a fabulous creation. Sinai was the seat of Jehovah, the God of the Hebrew tribes. The Ark was the symbol of His presence with His people, but the story of its contents is without historical verification. The Tabernacle with its elaborate ceremonies of worship had no real existence, but was a literary creation modelled after the temple. Moses was described as the guide and ruler of the people, as the representative or prophet of their God. What he proclaimed and enacted in the administration of the affairs of the people was represented as being the will or law of Jehovah, promulgated from his sacred mount. In this way the law of Moses and its institutions arose, first as oral traditions, and afterwards as written in a book, comprising what is the Biblical book of Deuteronomy, and later enlarged into a historical fiction forming the larger part of the Pentateuch.

These conclusions are reached by an elaborate literary and historical criticism that is manifestly candid and reverent, and very plausible, though bearing strongly the features of special pleading, a characteristic, however, of most earnest discussion.

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The universally admitted pre-exilic and post-exilic prophetical writings—Joel, Amos, Hosea, Micah and the first part of Isaiah, of the former, and Jeremiah, Ezekiel and others of the later—are compared with the contents of the historical books, to determine their date, integrity and import. By similar comparisons and criticism, all the books of the Old Testament are estimated and their origin and significance determined.

The law was an oral tradition in ancient Israel. It was a word of Jehovah spoken by or through the prophets. The tradition was reduced to writing and published during the reign of King Josiah (B. C. 621). During the two centuries which followed the written law was enlarged into the Pentateuch, and introduced and taught to the people by Ezra and Nehemiah (B. C. 444). In this way the people of the word became "the people of the book." In course of time, and by slow degrees, other books—some already in existence—were added. Thus the canon of the Old Testament was finally established. The prophets were before the law, as the "word" preceded the "book." Ezekiel was the connecting link between the prophets and the law. Mainly through his influence the traditional word was embodied in those institutions upon which Judaism became established and distinguished. The theocracy as a constitution became a hierocracy; and "the people of Jehovah" became a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation, or religious community.

Though the Old Testament Scriptures do not contain a history of ancient Israel they furnish the material from which one may be constructed. Our author has attempted to write the true history of Israel. In the abstract of the "History of Israel" which follows, some repetition of former statements is unavoidable.

The History of Israel really begins with Moses, who led a comparatively small community of Hebrew people from Egyptian oppression to their fatherland, or at least to the country of their kindred and the seat of their God. The people called "Israel," "Edom," "Moab" and "Ammon" were originally

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one people, or peoples of common origin and history, who took possession of Southern Palestine, a section of whom migrated to the pasture-lands of Egypt, where in course of time they were distressed by the exactions of the Egyptian rulers. By urging a religious motive, Moses inspired the oppressed people to determine to return to the land of their kindred and their God. A plague in Egypt made a favorable opportunity for their departure, and a providential wind and tides favored them in making a safe passage to the Peninsula of Sinai, where was the seat of their God, the Olympus of their race. They made their home in the so-called wilderness, principally in the region of Kadesh, where was established a shrine of worship, having previously worshiped at Sinai, the holy mount where dwelt their God. Moses, their leader, continued to enforce the sanctions of their religion, and through his instructions there gradually grew up among them a Divine law, which became the basis of their unity as a people. The Mosaic creed was "Jehovah is our God:" "We are the people of Jehovah." The name "Israel" declared God's relation to his people. The religion of Israel was an evolution from this Mosaic germ, from which was evolved Christianity. As God of the nation, Jehovah became the God of Justice and Right: He came to be thought of as the highest, the supreme God; and finally as the only true God, whom Jesus revealed to be the Father of mankind, who administers a paternal government over all souls by the law of Divine love.

From Kadesh, the people of Jehovah joined their kindred, the Moabites, in a defensive warfare against their enemy, the Amorites, whom they destroyed, and conquered for themselves the district east of the Jordan, where they located. By conquest, the Israelites gradually gained possession of the country west of the Jordan, inhabited by the Canaanites, who, on account of the numberless petty kingdoms and cities, were unable to successfully resist the invasion of their territory. The conquest of Canaan was neither accomplished speedily, nor by the united efforts of the people of Israel. The effect of the migration was to advance their civilization by becoming

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agriculturists, the absorption of the Canaanitish population into the Hebrew community, and to introduce new forms of worship in the religion, if not, indeed, to modify their creed by the acceptance of Baal worship. The possession of Canaan was maintained by perpetual conflicts with the natives and frequent invaders from the neighboring tribes. Religious enthusiasts and valiant heroes, called "judges," arose from time to time, who aroused the people, in the name of Jehovah, to victorious action against their enemies.

The supremacy of the Philistines, and the reproach and rigor of their oppressors, led to a wide-spread religious enthusiasm which resulted in the inauguration of a king, who was proclaimed by Samuel the seer or prophet, and the establishment of a monarchy, which continued with varying fortunes till the Captivity. Saul, the first king, stimulated the military valor of Israel. David, his successor, led the armies to victorious conquest, and made the people of Jehovah a great and powerful nation. Solomon, his son and successor, reigned in peace, perfecting the internal administration of his government, promoting commerce with surrounding nations, and centralizing the religious worship by elaborate ceremonies in the magnificent temple which he built in connection with the royal palace. The intercourse with foreign lands widened the intellectual horizon of the people, and placed them in sympathetic relations with mankind.

But the rigor and expense of Solomon's administration were the occasion of wide-spread discontent, which resulted in a division of the kingdom after his death. Saul, the first king, constituted the tribe of Joseph, the favorite son of Jacob by Rachel his favorite wife, the royal family, it having previously been regarded, the greatest. By David's elevation to the throne, Judah, which represented the family of Leah, Jacob's first wife, became the royal house. A rivalry of dynasties existed. A general revolt from Judah resulted in the establishment of the kingdom of Israel, which flourished till the invasion of the country by the Assyrians, who accomplished its downfall B. C. 721. With contact with the Assyrians begins the

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only reliable chronology of Hebrew history, say about B. C. 850. The period of Assyrian supremacy marks an advance in the religion of Israel, and the beginning of literature, especially of historical narrative.

Previous history had been preserved in tradition and song. Literature began with the collection and committal of these to writing. The oldest writings were "The Books of the Wars of the Lord," and the "Book of Jasher." The books of Judges, Samuel and Kings belong to this period. The rise and progress of literature are noted by the circumstance that we have no writings of Elijah and Elisha, while Amos and the subsequent prophets committed their discourses to writing.

The religious zealots, who had appeared and were influential in the distressing times before the monarchy, developed an order of prophets of which Elijah was the first, who became most influential in all the subsequent Israelitish history. Elijah advanced the idea of one Holy and Mighty One, who manifested himself, not alone in the forms and phenomena of nature, but in law and righteousness, in the fortunes and misfortunes of mankind. Amos and Hosea enforced the ethical sanctions of the religion of Jehovah, by which the later great prophets transformed the theocracy of Israel into an ideal commonwealth, to be inaugurated by a righteous remnant of the old Israel, or by a Coming One, who should rule in righteousness and with peace.

During the existence of the kingdom of Israel, the smaller kingdom of Judah was kept in the background. Its advantage, however, was in being less exposed to foreign foes, the prestige and greater stability of its Davidic dynasty, and the unity of worship represented in the temple service. Gradually, as Israel declined, Judah rose in importance and influence. The man, more than any other, through whom the transition of the history of the people of Jehovah from Israel to Judah was affected, and who was the means of establishing the religion on a moral and ethical basis, was Isaiah. Only such worship as blessed mankind was declared to be well-pleasing to God: only the righteous were truly people of God; distinguishing the

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true, or spiritual Israel from the "Israel according to the flesh." The prophetic reformation of the theocracy was effected by the support of the pious reign of Josiah. To this period belong the Decalogue and the legislation contained in Deuteronomy. The actual reformation was national and by statute. Jeremiah perceived that, to be permanent, it must be individual and by personal conviction, and proclaimed an ideal state based on laws written in human nature, which would survive every catastrophe of Providence and history, which then seemed inevitable for the nation. During his activity, the captivity to Babylon occurred. The exiles in Babylon, deprived of the ritual of temple worship, developed the moral and ethical elements of their religion, on the basis of the Deuteronomic law; instead of the temple the tabernacle became the place of religious expression and culture. A Messianic hope was inspired by the prophets, especially the Great Unknown, who was the author of Isaiah xl and onward, which was fulfilled in the supremacy and clemency of Cyrus, by whose permission and patronage the more zealous Jews returned to their father-land. The temple was rebuilt, and its services reestablished, based on the tradition of ancient worship. Instead of the former theocracy, a hierocracy grew into existence, with the high-priest in place of a king. Ezekiel was the prophet most influential in the formation of this new order. In Babylon the priests turned Scribes, and began the work of reducing to writing the theory of their Sacred customs and usages, constituting what is called, "The Priestly Code." Ezra, the Scribe, seconded by Nehemiah the provincial governor, reorganized and perfected the hierocracy on the basis of the new code or law. Ezra's law-book, which was substantially our Pentateuch, became the *Magna Charta* of Judaism, which preserved the People of Jehovah from the general chaos of the Græco-Roman empire.

During the post-exilian period, it was sought to make individual religious culture universal, in fulfillment of the prophetic demand, "They shall all be taught of God;" the object of the teaching being the knowledge and practice of the new

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theocratic law. To cause the individual to reflect upon religious topics, and the rise of the so-called "Wisdom," were among the effects. The speculative tendency was not confined to Judea, but became universalistic:—The Book of Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes were the products. The book of Job is a treatment of Jewish philosophy from a foreign point of view, if not, indeed, by a foreign writer, Syrian or Arabian. By individual thinking, the religious experiences were intensified, and found expression in poetry and song,—illustrated in the Psalms and their use, which were also the products of this period. Teachers of the law arose to importance above the priests who ministered at the altars of sacrificial worship. The Rabbis became the most influential class of the community. The teaching and practice of religion became a profession, separating the people into classes,—the religious and the unreligious, the righteous and the wicked, or, "the church and the world," as we would say. Such was the origin of the Pharisees.

The intensified religious experience of the times, deepened, and made more real the sense of favor and union with God, and the denationalized condition of the favored people contributed to inspire the hope in a kingdom of God to become universal by the overthrow of all the ungodly kingdoms of the world. At this judgment or crisis in the world's history, it came to be the belief that all the righteous or pious Jews who were dead would be restored to life to enjoy the blessings of the long deferred universal kingdom of the righteous. The wicked would be destroyed in the catastrophe by which the ungodly nations should be overthrown, This phase of the religion is strongly reflected in the book of Daniel, which was a product of these later times.

The morality of the Jewish system was negative and selfish, —founded on objective motives. To do no sin which was a transgression of the law, rather than to do good, was the ideal of personal righteousness.

Jesus, "the prophet of Nazareth," perceived and taught the relation of God to all races as Creator, and as the Spiritual

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Father of mankind. Instead of the offerings of what was possessed, he urged self-sacrifice as the acceptable worship of God, and in place of self-sanctification by which the community was separated into antagonistic classes, he enforced the duty of service of others, as the complete fulfilment of the law of God. The reward of righteousness is conscious communion with God, and the community of such a communion is the true kingdom of God. He exemplified his teachings in his own personal life. He was serenely conscious of being a child of God, calmly resigned himself to His Will, and confidently trusted in His Providence. Being the first of mankind to fully awaken to this consciousness of Divine Sonship, he is properly called the first-born of the Father; but in his own view, a first born of many brethren. He stands in this relation to God, not because his nature is unique, but because he is truly a man. In finding the way to God, for himself, he has opened it to all men. In apprehending the nature of God he also discovered the nature of man. With him the world was but a part of the universe, time a segment of eternity, and the spiritual the most real of all things.

The Church is not his work, but an inheritance from Judaism. The Christians found themselves in precisely the same circumstances as did the Jews under the Persian dominion. The state was foreign, and after the Jewish pattern, they founded for themselves a religious community to be their true father-land. Had not a foreign state been already in existence, a *state* and not a *church* would have been instituted. The nation is more certainly created by God than the Church, and His work is more manifest in the history of nations, than in Church history. Every formation of a religious community is a step towards the secularization of religion. Religion is wholly an inward thing. The Church is able to prepare the way for, or to transform the state. Its task is that of preparing an inner unity of practical conviction, and awakening a sentiment in small circles, that we belong one to another. But religious individualism is, and must remain, the true salt of the arth.

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To the thoughtful reader of the interesting volume, of which the foregoing is a brief but comprehensive abstract, many of the conclusions of the applied criticism will appear to rest on inadequate premises, and many more difficult questions will be raised than are satisfactorily answered by the general conclusions reached. The book is worthy of a careful study by all who are interested in Biblical learning and criticism, and will prove highly suggestive and stimulating to all intelligent and candid readers. *R. T. Polk.*

Article XXVI.

The Christianity of Christ.

There is an idea quite prevalent in some quarters that, after all, we cannot tell with any certainty what Jesus really did hold and teach; that he was probably largely a man of his times, sharing for the most part, at least, in the current Jewish expectations regarding his mission and work; that whatever more than this is to be found in the New Testament is probably mostly the product of later reflection and elaboration—in a word, that Christianity, meaning by that term the system of religion contained in the whole New Testament, owes its origin quite as much, perhaps even more, to others than Jesus—particularly in its newer, broader, universal—its most distinctive elements. As an aid in estimating the amount of truth in this idea, if any, it has seemed to the writer that it might be useful to inquire what are the contents of religious teaching of the very words of the Christ as the Synoptical Gospels report him. The Fourth Gospel will be excluded at the first, for the reason that it was written much later than the others, in the full ripe ness of the author's Christian experience; therefore after there had been opportunity, at least, for modification of the original teaching received from his Master, whether by his own reflection or otherwise.

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The Synoptical Gospels are manifestly closely related, and based ultimately upon substantially the same body of common Christian tradition. This tradition was preserved through these early years in *Jewish* circles. Jerusalem was recognized as the center of the church, and therefore the authoritative source of information respecting the life and teachings of the Master, as long as it stood. Such soil would hardly have been favorable for the growth of a broader type of the Christian faith than its founder had taught. Moreover, Matthew has always been recognized as a representative of the Jewish-Christian tendency in the early church. And even if we admit the traditional influence of Paul upon the Gospel of Luke, it is, nevertheless, to be said that its presentation of the essential teaching of the Christ differs surprisingly little from that in the other Synoptists. In brief, considering all the circumstances, the overwhelming probability is that the record of Christ's teachings contained in the Synoptists will present a type of religious doctrine, which, if it differs from the real Christianity of Christ at all, will differ from it in being narrower, less universal and Christian, and more Judaistic, and not the reverse. It is inconceivable that the Christianity of Christ should have been narrower than that of the Synoptical Gospels; it may well have been broader and more like the Christianity of the whole New Testament — assuming, for the present, that the degree of difference commonly supposed really exists.

We shall, therefore, take up, first, the words of Christ as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, in order to discover their contents of religious doctrine; then, the Fourth Gospel, so far as to show to what extent the Johannean Christ and his teachings really differ from the synoptical, and to inquire the significance of the difference; and finally, in the light of the results thus obtained, attempt an estimate of the view cited at the beginning.

For convenience in collating the theological contents of the words of Jesus, the following simple classification will be used: I. Theology; II. Christology; III. The Holy Spirit; IV. An-

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thropology; V. Soteriology; VI. Eschatology; with the natural subdivisions under each head.

I. *Theology.* Existence and attributes of God, and relation to men.

1. Jesus treats the existence of God as something not to be proved—he rarely did this in case of any doctrine—nor even to be taught explicitly, but to be assumed. He teaches the unity of God by endorsing the ancient commandment of Moses, beginning: "Hear, O Israel; Jehovah thy God, Jehovah is one," (Mk. xii. 29).

2. Natural Attributes. The divine omniscience is involved in the most inner and searching way in the statement that "God knoweth your hearts" (Lk. xvi. 15), and again, softened and made comforting by connection with the doctrine of the divine fatherhood, in the assurance that "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him" (Mt. vi. 8).

Twice does he teach explicitly the omnipotence of God, once in connection with his own hour of trial in Gethsemane, and the prayer of his natural human weakness to be delivered from the impending tragedy (Mk. xiv. 36), and again, in connection with salvation (Mt. xix. 26 and par.)—whereby the *spiritual* side of the divine omnipotence is not only included, but made especially prominent, thus giving it an important bearing upon other doctrines yet to be investigated.

3. Moral Attributes. In general, God is morally perfect. Mt. v. 48: "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect." More specifically, exercises impartial love toward all, even enemies. Mt. v. 44, 45: his hearers exhorted to love their enemies, that they may be *sons of the Heavenly Father*, *i. e.* like him; *for* he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, etc. Love as an element, indeed the leading element, in the divine character, is set forth by Christ with great force and frequency under the term Father, Heavenly Father, which has become with him the proper name of God. The essential meaning of this title is love in its manifestation toward men—to be set forth more fully under the following head.

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4. Relation of God to men. (*a*) The creative relation is not expressly mentioned, but would be admitted and assumed in all circles where he taught.

(*b*) Sovereignty. God's ways not always according to man's thought, sometimes, indeed, flatly against the expectation even of his chosen people (Lk. iv. 25–27).

(*c*) Providence. It is minute, complete, loving. The hairs of your head are all numbered; not a sparrow falls without your Father (Mt. x. 29,30). The Heavenly Father feeds the birds, clothes the plants; shall he not much more care for men? Be not anxious, the Father knoweth your needs (Mt. vi. 25 ff).

Christ gathers up his doctrine of Divine Providence into his constantly used name for God—Father, Father in Heaven, Heavenly Father—and his exposition of the meaning of the term. The most forceful and beautiful passage of all is perhaps Mt. vii. 9–11: "What man is there of you, who, if his son ask him for bread, will give him a stone? . . . . If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, *how much more* shall your Father in Heaven give good things to them that ask him?" For the doctrine of the divine fatherhood set forth in relation to wayward children, see the parable of the Prodigal Son, Lk. xv. 11–32.

The term Father as applied to God is very frequent in the words of Jesus. It occurs no less than 179 times in his recorded sayings. This term, with the wondrous meaning it held as Jesus used it, is one of the new, distinctive features of the Christian religion. It occurs, to be sure, even in the classic authors. Zeus is frequently called the father of gods and men. But there is in the term as used by them little beyond mere dependence, nothing approaching the meaning of loving care with which Jesus has freighted it. It is rare in the Old Testament, and for the most part rises hardly higher. Yet there are premonitions of the Christian doctrine of the fatherhood of God in the Old Testament, particularly in the prophets. See especially Isa. lxiii. lxiv., the whole tenor of which is suggestive of it.

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II. *Christology.* Nature and Mission of Christ.

1. Nature. Jesus unmistakably ranks himself above all other beings save God alone. He makes claims repeatedly and as a matter of course, which would be the most outrageous blasphemy if made by anyone else. He taught as one having authority, and not as the scribes (Mt. vii. 29). He assumes to hold a peculiar relationship to the Father. Mt. xi. 27: "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father; and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." Can such words be imagined in any other mouth than his? He is greater than Jonah, or Solomon, or the temple, and is Lord of the Sabbath (Mt. xii. 6, 8, 41, 42). He has authority to forgive sins (Mt. ix. 2–6). He has the keys of the kingdom of heaven (Mt. xvi. 19). All power in heaven and earth has been committed to him, and he is to be the judge of mankind (Mt. xxviii. 18, xxv. 31 ff).

Yet he teaches as unequivocally that he is distinct from the Father and subordinate to him. Mt. xxvi. 39: "Not as I will, but as thou wilt." Here are two wills. Therefore two distinct personalities. One of them is the self-existent God. Hence the other *must* be subordinate, dependent. Universal authority is not his inherently, but is *given* to him by the Father (Mt. xi. 27, xxviii. 18). He was limited in knowledge, in one particular, at least, for no one knew the time of the Parousia, not even the Son, but the Father only (Mt. xxiv. 36).

There is no specific, verbal claim of sinlessness recorded in the Synoptists, as in John, but the claim is implied in his whole bearing. He never classes himself with sinners, and his manner in dealing with them is a far stronger claim of his own freedom from its stain than any words could be.

2. Mission. (*a*) It is appropriate to inquire, in the first place, what light these Gospels may throw upon the attitude which Jesus assumed toward the Scriptures and institutions of the old Hebrew economy, of which, no doubt, his countrymen expected him to be the zealous and glorious leader—a reformer and purifier from abuses, perhaps, but nothing more.

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He uses the Old Testament Scriptures as the basis of argumentation much as any Jewish Rabbi might have done (Mt. xxii. 41–45). He claimed at the outset of his ministry—in the synagogue at Nazareth—to be the Messiah predicted in the Old Testament prophecies (Lk. iv. 18–21); culls out language from them, universally recognized as applying to the Messiah, points out its fulfillment in himself, and sends it back to John the Baptist as proof that he is indeed the promised Deliverer (Mt. xi. 2 ff); predicts his death as an event in accordance with prophecy (Mt. xxvi. 54, 56; Lk. xviii. 31, xxii. 37); and after his resurrection explains the mystery of the cross to the perplexed and disheartened disciples by a full exposition of the Scriptures referring to himself. He seems to have observed the Mosaic law himself, in all essential respects at least, and taught his disciples to do the same. He even upheld the authority of the scribes as expounders of the law, while in the same breath denouncing their deeds (Mt. xxiii. 2 ff). He commanded lepers whom he had healed to observe the provisions of the law in such cases (Lk. v. 14). The mass of *tradition* which successive teachers and commentators had added to the law, and which was regarded by the Pharisaic party of his day as of almost equal authority, he boldly rejected (Mt. xv. 2 ff). This, however, is quite consistent with the character of a mere reformer, purifier of the Jewish system.

Three passages should be considered particularly. Mt. v. 17 ff.: "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy, but to fulfill. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished" etc. This seems sufficiently explicit to the effect that he did not intend an abrupt and absolute break with the old economy. But what did he mean by fulfillment? Nothing more than the perfect observance of the Mosaic code in its literal sense? He himself furnishes us with at least a partial answer to this question in the same Sermon on the Mount from which the passage just quoted is taken. In many points the law of the new kingdom is far stricter than the

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Mosaic—*e. g.*, as to murder (Mt. v. 21 ff), as to adultery (v. 27 ff), as to swearing (v. 33 ff); it is more humane, and rises above the basis of desert, justice, to that of forbearance, mercy, love, in accordance with Jesus' higher teaching of the character of God (v. 38–48). In all these respects he expressly modifies and improves the old law, thereby teaching that it was imperfect. So also in case of divorce (Mt. xix. 3–9), where he expressly says that the Mosaic provision was imperfect, necessarily so because of the hardness of their hearts. That is to say, this statute, like those before mentioned—and, indeed, many others to which Jesus does not allude—was never intended as a perfect standard for all times, but as a mitigation of an evil which it was not practicable to stamp out at once. These are examples of what Jesus means by the fulfilment of the Mosaic Law. Do they not make it clear that he means the fulfilment, or accomplishment of the real inner significance or purpose lying at the bottom of its precepts,—in which, as a matter of course, many details will disappear, and be replaced by new and higher ones. It is like the filling up of a rough sketch and its transformation into the finished picture. Many new lines must be added, some old ones toned down, and some, perhaps, erased entirely. Yet not one jot or tittle of that which the artist was aiming at in his sketch has been altered. It has been *fulfilled*, all of it. Still better, perhaps, it is like the building of a great cathedral. Many an unsightly staging must be erected about it and within it. They must remain there for years, perhaps, so long that some may come to regard them as essential parts of the structure. But by and by, when the architect is ready to complete his plan, they must come down. Such taking down is not abrogation, it is fulfilment, and the original purpose lying at the basis of the whole construction, stagings and all, could not be fulfilled unless they did come down.

Finally, two other passages set forth very clearly the relation of Jesus and his mission to the old economy. Mt. ix. 14–17: Jesus answers the question of the disciples of John as to their different custom in regard to fasting by saying that it

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was not fit that his followers should fast while their Lord was still with them, and then puts forth the two brief parables of the patch of undressed cloth upon an old garment and the new wine in old bottles. The significance of both is the same: The religion I bring to the world is new; it cannot be cast in the moulds of the old; to attempt it would be ruinous. The new life must have new forms. Mt. xiii. 52: After putting forth a series of parables, illustrating one phase or another of his doctrine of the kingdom of heaven, scarcely any of them capable of being squared with the common national expectation of that kingdom, he asks his disciples, after they had desired and obtained an interpretation of the most striking of them, "Have ye understood all these things?" They said unto him, "Yea." And he said unto them, "Therefore every scribe who hath been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old." The meaning of this, in its connection, can hardly be doubtful. The disciples, who were to be the scribes of the kingdom of heaven, teachers of the religion founded by their Master, are here taught that they are not to break wholly with the past: there are elements old as well as new in the Messiah's teaching; nor is that teaching simply Judaism: it has in it elements new as well as old. And according to his teaching in the Sermon on the Mount, already alluded to, these new elements are but those needed to fulfil the design lying at the basis of the old and of the whole. After all, how does this differ from the general Christian view of the matter?

(*b*) Christ as a Teacher. Prophetic Office. He came to proclaim the good news of the coming kingdom of God (Lk. iv. 43), to call sinners to repentance (Mt. iv. 17; Lk. v. 32), to reveal the Heavenly Father, whom he alone can reveal (Mt. xi. 27). To these objects, especially the last, he devoted a large portion of his public teaching. It seemed to be his special aim to impress upon the minds of his hearers the higher, nearer relation of God to men, gathered up and symbolized under the title Father, as already set forth.

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(*c*) Christ as Mediator. Priestly Office. The Atonement. He claims and exercises the authority to forgive sins (Mt. ix. 6, Lk. vii. 47–50), and teaches that his death was an event not only foreknown and predicted (Mt. xvi. 21), but also intended and planned for—indeed an essential part of his mission—and moreover in some way necessary to the salvation of men from sin. Mk. x. 45: "For verily the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." Mt. xxvi. 28: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins."

(*d*) Christ as Lord of his followers, and Head of the Church. Kingly Office. "All authority hath been given to me in heaven and on earth" (Mt. xxviii. 18). "On this rock I will build *my* church . . . . I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Mt. xvi. 18, 19). "Neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master, the Christ" (Mt. xxiii. 10). He is also to be the judge of men (Mt. xxv. 31 ff). This function, like the prophetic and mediatorial, is claimed *exclusively*. He is the *only* revealer of the Father, the *only* ransom for men from sin, the *only* Master of his disciples. *All* authority is committed to him by the Father.

III. *The Holy Spirit* appears in Christ's words in the Synoptical writings as a divine influence. It is sent in answer to prayer (Lk. xi. 13). The disciples were to be baptized with it on the day of Pentecost (Acts i. 5, 8). The sacred writers wrote under it (Mt. xxii. 43). It is not even clearly personified, as it is in John, under the title Paraclete. The nearest approach to it is in the promise to the disciples: "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you" (Mt. x. 20). There is nothing to compel, or even fairly to suggest the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit—as a personality distinct or different in any way from God—unless it be the baptismal formula (Mt. xxviii. 19). The significance of the three names in this formula seems to be that of

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three aspects or manifestations of God,—God himself, the Father, his outward manifestation in Jesus Christ, and his inward manifestation in the human soul, which is the Holy Spirit—any thought of distinctness of personality, or of any personality save the all-pervading one of God, being here irrelevant.

IV. *Anthropology.* Man as a Moral Being.

1. Nature. Christ implies the essential likeness of man to God in his representation of God as Father and men as his children. He assumes and explicitly teaches immortality (Mt. xxii. 23–32). The power of discerning right and wrong is not destroyed by sin. (Lk. xii. 57: "Why even of yourselves judge ye not that which is right?")

2. Duties. Ethics. The ethical standard of Christianity is far stricter than that of Judaism, and is based upon the inner disposition and intent of the heart, not upon the out ward action. Not only is he a murderer, and liable to its penalties, who actually kills his brother, but he who hates him; not only is he guilty of adultery who commits the overt act, but he who lusts after a woman (Mt. v. 21 ff; 27 ff). Over against the old savage principle, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is set that of Christian forbearance and non-resistance to evil (Mt. v. 38 ff).

Obligation is according to ability. Such is the teaching of the Parable of the Talents (Mt. xxv. 14 ff); also of Jesus' praises of the poor woman, who, though she cast but two mites into the treasury, really gave more than they all; for they gave of their abundance; but she of her want cast in all that she had, even all her living (Mk. xii. 43, 44).

God's demands upon his children are very exacting. They involve nothing less than the most complete and absolute self-surrender — the devotion of one's self wholly to the Master's service. In short, perfection is required of man — perfection as the perfection of God himself. "Even so, when ye have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do" (Lk. xvii. 10). "He that loveth father or

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mother more than me is not worthy of me" (Mt. x. 37). "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it" (Mt. xvi. 24, 25, and parallels). "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt. v. 48).

Jesus sums up his ethical teaching in the two great commandments which he quotes from Moses: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . . . and thy neighbor as thyself (Mt. xxii. 37, 39, and par.; Deut. vi. 5; Lev. xix. 18). In verbal form, therefore, it appears that the law of life which Jesus taught is but a quotation from the code of centuries before. In spirit and reality it is nothing of the kind, but a new and distinctively Christian thing. As we read the words in the Old Testament they almost seem to have strayed out of their place. For the real spirit which breathes through the Mosaic code is not love to God and man, but An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. With Jesus this higher law of supreme love to God and equal love to all mankind is, in reality, the fundamental law of life which he continually teaches.

He also teaches the universal brotherhood of man most forcefully and beautifully in the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. x. 29–37).

Of specific ethics, Jesus has little to say. He seems to have conceived it to be his mission to lay down and make clear, by his teaching and by his life, the main foundation principles of man's moral and spiritual life and well-being, leaving the application of those principles to countless specific questions to be seen and made by the moral sense of humanity, as it should be developed and elevated by continued meditation upon these very principles.

Slavery was all about him. He never alludes to it. Drinking habits were universal, drunkenness common. He is not a temperance advocate, not even a total abstainer himself.

3. Sin. Sin consists in evil intent, not in outward action.

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It may exist without any outward action, and notwithstanding outward appearance of righteousness (Mt. v. 28; xv. 18 19; xxiii. 25, 28). It is very extensive, indeed, impliedly, though not explicitly, universal. So dire are its effects that he thinks it fit to describe sinful men as those who are lost, and must be sought and found (Lk. xix. 10), or fallen under the dominion of a hostile power, and must be ransomed from the servitude at no less a price than the life of the Son of Man (Mt. xx. 28).

These are figures, but figures of tremendous significance as to the breadth and depth of Jesus' teaching respecting the guilt and terrible consequences of sin.

Yet it must not be supposed that he puts all sinners on a level. There are degrees of guilt, and corresponding degrees of punishment (Lk. xx. 47; xxiii. 34).

V. *Soteriology.* A most common title of the Christ in the New Testament is Saviour. His personal name, Jesus, means saviour. The angel who announced his birth expressly says, according to Matthew's Gospel, that this name was to be given him because he was to be the Saviour of his people. He himself repeatedly declares that he came for the purpose of *saving* men.

1. What is the nature of the salvation which Christ came to bring to men? All his allusions to it and the figures he uses to describe it tend to confirm the saying of the angel before his birth: "He shall save his people *from their sins*" (Mt. i. 21) — although this has never been, and is not yet, the prevalent view among Christians, most of whom teach that Christ came to save men from the *penalty* of their sins.

His first preaching was repentance — abandonment of sin. Early in his ministry he went into the synagogue at Nazareth, and after reading that passage from the later Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because he hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor. He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord;" he said: "To-day hath this

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Scripture been fulfilled in your ears"—that is to say, I am he that was to be sent to do these things. Now these figures are not appropriate to salvation from any impending evil—they mean rescue from some present evil state. There are only two possible interpretations: the outward, political one of rescue from the servitude of the Romans, in which sense, doubtless, most of his hearers had been accustomed to understand it; and the spiritual one of rescue from the captivity and blindness of sin. When he was reproached for associating with publicans and sinners, he replied that his mission was to precisely this class of people. "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance" (Mt. ix. 10–13 and par). "The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost" (Lk. xix. 10).

Christ came to rescue from captivity, to cure blindness, to heal disease, to seek, find, and save those who are lost. Can this refer to anything but the captivity, the blindness, the disease, the lost present estate, of those who are sinful? Again, he teaches that in self-sacrifiice only is salvation to be found. "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it (Mt. xvi. 25 and par.). The spirit of self-sacrifice could not by any possibility save from the penalty of sin, but it could and would save from sin itself, because it is antagonistic to it and would cast it out.

Salvation is frequently presented in the teaching of Christ, and throughout the New Testament, under the term *eternal life*, or simply *life*. Again and again was the question put to Jesus: How shall we obtain eternal life? Now, whatever the questioners meant by this phrase, Jesus certainly did *not* mean by it *endless* life—immortality. When the Saviour uses this phrase he is talking about a particular *quality* or *kind* of life which it was his mission to bring to men. The way to it is narrow (Mt. vii. 14),—the right way to anything good always is. It is through obedience to the commandments of God (Mt. xix. 16 ff. and par.), through self-sacrifice (Mt. xix. 29 and par.), through the spirit of love to mankind (Mt. xxv. 34–40, 46).

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2. What are the means whereby Christ accomplishes his salvation of men from sin?

He reveals the Heavenly Father and his everlasting love to men, as already shown. He points out the true way for men to live, and exemplifies it in his own life. He influences men to walk in the right pathway by the inspiration of his perfect example, and by the spiritual power of his personality. No quotations need be presented to sustain these statements. The proof of them is the whole body of his teaching; still more the unique personality which stands behind all his words. He also teaches clearly that his death is an essential part of his mission, and necessary to the accomplishment of his work of saving mankind. It is not a martyr's death; it is not only foreseen and predicted, but intended. He did not merely come to the earth and die; he came *on purpose* to die, to give his life a ransom for many (Mk. x. 45), to shed his blood for the remission of sins (Mt. xxvi. 28).

Precisely what the necessity was that he should die in order to human salvation is not defined in the synoptic account. It is only hinted at in that of John. It seems legitimate inference, in harmony with his whole life and teaching, that its necessity was simply that of the keystone to the arch, of the capital to the column — that of *completing* the saving power which dwelt in the whole teaching and life of the Saviour. He taught that through self-sacrifice was the only way to salvation. If he would make himself the supreme force to lead men to salvation, he must tread that pathway himself to its very end, so that no man would ever be called upon to go farther in self-sacrifice than his Saviour had gone before him. The whole Christ, teaching, example, life, death, himself more than all, is the Saviour of the world. His death is but the crown, the capstone, the keystone of his life.

3. What are the human conditions of salvation?

Two are very plainly presented, repentance, and faith in Christ. Jesus' first word, as he went forth on his ministry, was, Repent (Mt. iv. 17); his last command to his disciples was that repentance and remission of sins should be preached

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in his name to all the nations (Lk. xxiv. 47). Repentance is essentially a purpose of abandonment of sin. What else should be the first condition of such a salvation as Christ's, which consists in rescue from sin?

Jesus commonly required faith as a condition of the physical cures he performed (Mt. ix. 29; Lk. vii. 50, and many others). This may have been an inherent necessity in some cases, as in obscure nervous diseases and the like, in which modern medical science has come to attribute much to the confidence of the patient in the physician. But it is noteworthy that in some of the worst cases of precisely this kind nothing is said or implied of the requirement (Lk. iv. 35); in others, the faith of friends is made the basis of the exercise of his healing power (Mt. ix. 2); in others, the test is said to be in the faith of those who attempt to perform the cure, as in the case of the disciples who failed to heal the demoniac because of their little faith (Mt. xvii. 19 f). It is certainly difficult to see how faith is especially necessary to the cure of such a trouble as blindness or lameness. It seems a reasonable conclusion that the necessity of faith to physical healing in the practice of Jesus was essentially, at least, didactic, not inherent. He meant by his physical healing and the conditions under which he performed it to direct the minds of men to that spiritual healing of the graver disease of sin, which was his chief mission, and to the condition of faith as attached to salvation from sin — there inherent and essential. Mk. i. 15: Repent and believe in the Gospel; xvi. 16: He that believeth shall be saved. The requirement of faith in Christ as a condition of salvation from sin is as natural and necessary as that of repentance. No force save that which came in Christ has ever availed to lift the world permanently out of the pollution and misery of sin. And surely his saving power could not well be exercised upon any save those in whom some degree of faith, confidence, in him had been inspired.

The next article will complete the survey of the teaching of the Synoptic Christ by investigating his utterances on topics included under the head of Eschatology.

Edward L. Houghton.

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Article XXVII.

Christianity in Relation to the Constitution of the United States.

We often meet the declaration that religion has nothing to do with politics. Yet one need not be a Hallam, a Livy, a Mackintosh, or a Niebuhr to see that it always has had a great deal to do with civil government. The two things are as thoroughly intermixed as the various elements in conglomerate. In the Jewish state, law derived its majesty from theocratic sanction. Greece regulated war, education, and other matters in accordance with notions about the gods, and grave philosophers insisted that no man who denied the existence of a Supreme Being could safely be entrusted with the conduct of public affairs. From the days of Romulus and the Augurs down to the time when the Roman eagles hovered in their dread flight above the confines of the known world and onward to the hour which marked the overthrow of the seven-hilled city's domination, Rome was largely affected by religion. Through all the subsequent reigns of emperors vainly striving to extirpate Christianity with torture, fire, and massacre, religion and imperial edicts could not be divorced. And what strong light is shed upon the relation of politics and religion by the wholesale and audacious assumptions of the relentless and unscrupulous Popes, Leo, Hildebrand, Innocent III, Gregory IX, and others!

For centuries Turkey has found the power of Islamism the mightiest force on all the bloody fields where the Crescent has been imperilled. The condition, prospects, and prosperity of England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, and Spain have long been closely intertwined with principles and questions emphasized alike within plain chapels, grand cathedrals, and before the rudest wayside cross. Russia has a so-called Greek Church which is national. Consider too, in this connection, the utterances and policy which have made the name of Bismarck famous and have given Germany such stupendous influ-

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ence in European affairs. Even the Mikado of Japan, seeing, some years since, the close connection between politics and religion, ordered the closing of Buddhist temples, and the priests, like the monks of England in the time of the Reformation, were obliged to earn an honest living or starve Religion, it would seem, will always be closely associated with civil government; for man is naturally religious, and he is, as Aristotle said, "more political than any bee or ant." Often, however, the altar has been brought into unhappy contact with the throne, the council chamber, the hustings, the legislative hall. The primary question therefore is, What is the standard by which to determine the true relation between religion and a commonwealth? Many persons have observed the desirable effect of Christianity upon individuals and upon nations. They have noticed also that there is no express mention of Christianity in the Constitution of the United States.

It is proposed, as it has been at various times, to amend the great instrument which defines the rights, powers, and duties of the citizens of this fair land, by inserting in the preamble a clause "Acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler among nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority." This movement appeals powerfully to some devout and thoughtful persons, and they ardently recommend it as fraught with pure and glorious promise. Their intention is excellent; they desire to improve the government. Observing the corruptions which menace the best interests of the body politic, all patriotic hearts will naturally sympathize with these well-meaning agitators. It is frequently assumed that clergymen and other citizens whose spirit and studies dispose them to seek, in every practicable way, the welfare of their countrymen will endorse the above-mentioned propositions, and unqualifiedly commend the course of those who advocate such views. It seems to us, however, that the assumptions are unsound, and that many capable, true, and earnest men cannot, for the following and other reasons which we have not space to present in detail, conscientiously uphold them.

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I. The propositions rest upon an erroneous idea of the relation of man as a worshipper to man as a subject of civil government.

It is highly important that there should be government, and unspeakably important that it should be clean. The friends of the proposed amendment are afraid that unless there is some special mention of God in the supreme law of the land we shall be responsible for giving government an atheistical trend. But if the absence of the word "God" from any document or book produces an atheistical tendency, they may well be alarmed respecting the Bible itself. Solomon's Song, the book of Esther, several chapters of Proverbs, and a part of Christ's Sermon on the Mount are, on such a principle, hopelessly atheistic, for the word God is not in them.

Are we not to remember that government is an instrument, an apparatus, of course dependent upon human hearts and wills, but still only an instrument in our hands for certain purposes? Government is established for secular ends, not for spiritual ones. Some persons think that such a statement is equivalent to saying that secular affairs are more important than spiritual things. Such a notion involves a great mistake. Many years ago, when the question of faith in relation to legislation was under discussion in a foreign land, an eminent statesman said: —

"The question is not whether temporal interests be, or be not superior in importance to spiritual interests, but whether the machinery which happens at any moment to be employed for the purpose of protecting certain temporal interests of a society be necessarily such a machinery as is fitted to promote the spiritual interests of that society. It is certain that without a division of duties the world could not go on. It is of much more importance that the knowledge of religious truth should be widely diffused than that the art of sculpture should flourish among us. Yet it by no means follows that the Royal Academy ought to unite with its present functions those of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to distribute theological tracts, to send forth missionaries, to turn out Nollekens for being a Catholic, Bacon for being a Methodist, and Flaxman for being a Swedenborgian. For the effect of such folly

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would be that we should have the worst possible Academy of Arts and the worst possible Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge."

Some of the objects of civil government we are all agreed upon, viz., preservation of life and property, obliging men to get a living by reputable industry and not by theft or other dishonest means; compelling men to decide certain differences by arbitration and not by war, and to exert the whole strength of the State against any other country that tries to hurt us. These are things in which every man, whether Jew or pagan, Christian or infidel, Papist or Protestant, deist or atheist, has an interest. As a nation we are sometimes responsible legally when, in the strict sense, we are not so morally; *e. g.*, if we have a minister of State in a foreign land, and he goes into financial speculations there for his own benefit, it is our duty legally to recall him; but we are not morally responsible for his faithlessness. We expressly stipulated when he went abroad that he should not speculate in stocks, etc. Are we to be held morally accountable when he does what we have exerted ourselves to the utmost to prevent him from doing? We might as well say that every man, whether Northerner or Southerner, who did all he could to overthrow slavery was morally accountable for it because he was a citizen of a land where it existed. Government was not established to teach any portion of any religion, nor to do any other work which can be better done by individuals. To load it with such labor would be to thwart it, to waste its energy, and, ultimately, so to encumber and burthen it that it would die of overwork.

It is said that men cry to God in times of calamity or emergency, and therefore there ought to be some recognition of God in the Constitution. But in many instances such a cry is indicative of selfishness; do we need to perpetuate that? In other cases it is the cry of many Christians — not the prayer of the nation.

II. Again; the proposal of those who would amend the Great Law of the land does not make proper allowance for the peculiar composition of society in the United States, That

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society is composed of people born in various lands and climes, speaking different tongues, affected by diverse foreign scenes, dissimilar and potent prepossessions, by some singular and heterogeneous views, by strongly contrasted customs, curious inheritances, and by various styles of education. It is urged that the offered amendment has reference to these very facts, and that it ought to be adopted because many of our foreign-born citizens act badly with regard to religious affairs. They indulge in carousals on Sunday, in drinking excesses and noisy parades, and they ought to be checked.

This is right doctrine but a wrong application of it. Must we not distinguish carefully between a natural, a civil, a political, and a moral or a religious right? All men have certain natural rights or liberty. For anything we can do to the contrary, a man is naturally at liberty to go where he pleases, to eat and drink what he has a mind to, and to believe whatever suits him. But when human beings attempt to live together they find it necessary to give up or abridge certain natural rights, to modify or qualify the use of them in order to secure the benefits of association: hence arises a new class of rights, viz., civil. Naturally a man has a right to go where he pleases; but his neighbor has the same right, and if both choose to go where only one can successfully travel, then, as shown in the graphic record of the Highland feud between Grant and Macpherson, they come into collision. If either is to go at all he must resort to force or make an agreement about the matter. That agreement, in its relation to the commnnity, defines the civil right in this special case. Communities or states are consolidated in order to secure advantages which they could not reach unaided, and every state has to yield a little of its own civil right so as to enjoy the greater political rights of the nation. The essence of civil or political fairness consists in making arrangements which will, as far as practicable, give all equal advantages.

But, it is objected that we make Sunday laws to restrain people who get drunk, disturb worship, and otherwise interfere with the tranquility or comfort of communities. Yes, but

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why? The reasons are briefly these: — A man has no moral right to get drunk, but in some places his legal right to get drunk is unquestionable; but if he insists on becoming intoxicated where inebriety will imperil the life or interfere with the decent enjoyment or business of others, the law should take him in hand. Similarly, the law will not prevent him from breaking the Sabbath for himself; but the law says to the offender, you have no right to break into the Sabbath of other people. They enjoy themselves without troubling you, but you do not enjoy yourself without disturbing them. This is not fair because the conditions of enjoyment are not equal. The end sought in Sunday laws is not the inculcation or enforcement of any religious doctrine, but the defense of social rights; they are called Sunday laws only because they relate to things done on Sunday. We cannot make individuals holy, as Wendell Phillips said we stole Texas, "by joint resolution"; nor can we impart sanctity to citizens at large by Congressional enactment, any more than the Jesuits, on a certain occasion, could stop the revolution of the earth by obtaining a decree that it did not turn on its axis.

III. Moreover, to amend the Constitution as proposed would work injustice to many citizens. The advocates of amendment put forth the following declarations or articles: 1. "All civil government owes all its authority and power to God. 2. The Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler among nations. 3. His revealed will, the Bible, is of supreme authority in a Christian government." There is a sense in which some of these statements are true, but not in the sense meant by those who make them. None of these articles take into account the fact that the great charter of American liberty belongs to Jew and Christian and Infidel alike. Each of these articles contradicts the spirit of the nation as expressed in the Constitution. The idea or principle of government, it is true, is from God. In harmony with this we read, "The powers that be are ordained of God." But this is a very different thing from saying that every form of government men set up is appointed or sanctioned by the Almighty. Did God establish the ungodly gov-

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ernment of the Communists, or the government whose success depended on the Inquisition? God is the moral head of every government, but he is in no sense the political head of any government.

Our government derives its just powers, as the matchless Declaration of Independence declares, "from the consent of the governed." Nobody obeys the laws as if they were the laws of God, nor is any one excused from obeying them because he disbelieves in God. And besides this, what is to be the determinative standard of belief respecting the Deity? Is he to be confided in according to the self-contradictory hypothesis of believers in a "triune" God, or is he to be trusted as sustaining the character attributed to him by Unitarians, Universalists, and other consistent thinkers and worshippers? The doctrine that Jesus Christ is the ruler among nations is rejected by many profoundly thoughtful and some very useful people. The Israelites object to this. The followers of Channing and Martineau in this respect resemble the Israelites. The Hicksite Friends, the followers of Campbell, the Universalists, the Deists, the Rationalists, and many others, all believe that Almighty God is Ruler of all nations, but they do not believe that Christ is God. But the friends of the proposed amendment say this is a Christian government, and ask why not then indicate the fact in the supreme legal instrument of the land? This is a glaring mistake. This is a Christian nation in a general and loose sense of the term, because the greater part of the people are really or nominally Christian, but it is not at all a Christian government. Do we elect men to the Senate and House of Representatives with the understanding that they are loyal to Jesus Christ? Who ever heard of such a thing in caucus or at the polls? But, strictly speaking, it is not correct to assume that there is no recognition of God in the chief document of our government. Our Constitution rests on the Declaration of Independence, and there is a very clear recognition of Deity in the opening and closing sentences of that great instrument. In Article VI., Sec. III. of the Constitution as originally written we read that "the senators and represen-

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tatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution." The great instrument is further alluded to as "done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the 17th day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1787."

Are such expressions indicative of a disposition to ignore God? Consider the language of an oath as administered to an incoming Chief Magistrate or other officer of the United States. It closes with the words, "So help you God." Now let us, in conformity with the wishes of those who wish the Constitution altered, substitute the words, "So help you Jesus Christ." How many judges in all this broad land would or could use it?

Other features in harmony with the doctrine of the Saviour are discernable in the Constitution, such as safeguards for freedom of conscience, etc,; but they are there, not because they are thus harmonious, but because they are salutary in government. Those who plead for the special introduction of religious terms into the great bond of national liberty appeal to the Bible as Christ's revealed will. But when men speak of the Bible, ordinarily meaning the version first published in 1611, as being the supreme authority in government, they make a mistake. The Jews accept only a part of it. The Roman Catholics, the Free Religionists, the Rationalists, and various other non-Christian people deny that it is the word of Christ at all. Yet some are ready to say, as if that were conclusive of the whole matter, "How can they think they are right when we know they are wrong?"

The agitators have supposed their case much strengthened by arguing that prayers are offered in Congress, and that the name of the Supreme Being appears in presidential proclamations. But, obviously, the former, although useful, are accepted as matters of courtesy, not as enjoined by the chief law of the land; and the latter, not as constitutional, but as expressions of the views of the President, whoever he may be.

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Such things are controlled by custom. Men are sent to Congress, not to legislate upon religious matters, but to attend to internal improvement. foreign relations, finance, public education, etc. Men of all religious faiths should have a fair chance. But the advocates of the amendment reply, "Christianity cannot be unfair; how can rights of conscience be infringed by an acknowledged God?" No one is at all uneasy about God's uprightness. but there is occasionally ground for misgiving about the justice and discrimination of some persons who believe in Him. Still some insist that the government has all along collided with "rights of conscience"; and it is asked, is nothing to be done which is opposed to someone's assumed rights of conscience? The answer is this: no one affirms that conscience is always an infallible guide. On the score of conscience, a man may plead for want of loyalty to the State in time of national peril, or want of respect for social purity, without which no government can have health or long life. Just governmental collision with some so-called "rights of conscience," as in the case of Mormons and others, has taken place on the ground of the obvious and monstrous opposition of these assumed "rights" to the political and social safety of the nation. But the proposed amendment is against the rights of conscience of men who are reputable citizens — willing to defend the Constitution of the United States with their property and lives. Just such heroic, unselfish, battle-scarred patriots upheld the Stars and Stripes on every field from Philippi to Appomatox.

Christianity, it is true, cannot be unfair, its principles are infinitely just; but when one party of religionists attempts to enforce a religion or any part of it, they transgress the fundamental law of Christianity respecting social intercourse, which is, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," Notwithstanding this, it is urged that some men use power to publish corrupt views, then why not resort to national influence to spread good ones? In reply to this, it is sufficient to recall the words of an illustrious statesman and historian: "Those who preach to rulers the duty of employing

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power to propagate truth would do well to remember that falsehood, though no match for truth alone, has often been found more than a match for truth and power together,"

IV. To amend the Constitution as proposed would establish a troublesome precedent. It will not be out of place to see what the framers of that instrument thought about such matters. We have heard flippant talkers and superficial thinkers, as well as persons of more pretensions, declare that the fathers of this government were too much influenced by what they witnessed abroad. It has been repeatedly said that "in their known anxiety to avoid the unsound and hurtful union of Church and State, and in guarding against unequal and unjust discriminations between citizens of various religious beliefs, they absolved the citizens from all profession of the fundamental moral truths on which civil government rests."[1] What is it to absolve? They manifestly did not absolve them; it is not in human power to do anything of the sort. Many in that day professed the faith held by the present agitators, but they did not regard themselves as "absolved from all profession of fundamental truths" in consequence of not finding the words God and Jesus Christ in the Federal Constitution. Others disbelieved Jesus; but because there was no particular mention of him in the great Bond of Union, they did not feel that they were "absolved," nor that anybody had power to absolve "from all profession of fundamental truths on which government rests." This is a very weak element in the argument of the amendment schemers. They point to Blackstone and Jameson and natural law. The Constitution is founded, say the agitators, on the law of England, and Blackstone declares that Christianity is a part of it, and this declaration has been sustained by decisions of courts. Now, if Christianity is thus a part of the Great Law of our land, where is the sense or fairness of the amendment makers in saying that it is destitute of a Christian character? But, first, the Constitution of the United States was not wholly founded on the law of England.

[1] See Constitution, and Addresses of the Association for Amendment of the Constitution.

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If the law of England was entirely satisfactory, why did our forefathers break away from it? That portion of the United States Constitution which in a sense may charitably be said to be founded on the law of Albion, was not so founded *with a view to asserting or maintaining any portion of Christianity.* That purpose was expressly disavowed. This we know from examination of the letters of some of the fathers of the Republic, and by the plain declaration of *all* of them in the Great Instrument which they framed.

V. The proposed amendment would violate both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. Article 6, Sec. 3, of that document declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. It is a little amusing to see with what assurance and complacency mediocre critics pronounce judgment on the ability and virtue of such men as Washington, Jefferson, Livingston, John and Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, Witherspoon, Hopkinson Rush, Hancock, and Benjamin Franklin. These men and their comrades were no common men. Would to Heaven we might always have such a Congress! They had been diligent and profound students of the rise, development, and decay of nations. They knew well the history of the terrible religious struggles in England and Germany. They understood how the desperate conflicts brought on by Roman Catholic princes had spread blood and desolation over some of tbe fairest portions of France, Belgium, and Holland. They were not ignorant of the operations of imaginary successors of St. Peter, laying the foundations of that "Temporal power" which Italy and other European nations have since found to be intolerable. Such facts naturally weighed heavily with the body of men to whom we owe the Great Charter of our liberty, a body whom the famous statesman, William Pitt, declared to be the ablest deliberative assembly that ever existed. Livingston wrote a letter touching the relation of Christianity to the Constitutionl in which he gracefully eulogized the faith of Jesus, but contended that no portion of it should appear in the great federal compact.

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The Presbytery of the Eastward wrote to Washington, expressing disappointment at not finding some specific mention of God in the foundation law of the land. The Father of his Country politely acknowledged their attentions and commended their devoutness, but said: "I am persuaded you will permit me to observe that the path of true piety is so plain as to require but little political direction. To this consideration we ought to ascribe the absence of any regulations respecting religion from the Magna Charta of our country. To the guidance of the ministers of the Gospel this important object is perhaps more properly committed." In a similar spirit a later Chief Magistrate, in arranging a treaty with one of the Barbary States, said: "The government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion: it has, in itself, no character of enmity against the laws and religion of Musselmans." The union of Church and State, in a few instances, may have been for a time advantageous. Those are exceptions and cannot outweigh the many great warning facts. The act of disestablishment of the Church in Ireland has been fruitful in measures favorable to the growth of national spirit, and to religious development; and there can be no doubt that the principles embodied in Mr. Mial's motion for the peaceful separation of Church and State in England will ultimately command the moral support of a great majority in the United Kingdom, Not many years have elapsed since it was found desirable to check the political influence of ecclesiastics in Germany by taking the control of a certain department of education out of the hands of an infalliabilist zealot. The same kind of check has been reached in France by substantially the same method. Are we less wise than Europeans? The promoters of the proposed amendment may not intend to labor for the union of Church and State, but the tendency of their efforts is in that direction. Besides, the right to put one article of faith into the Supreme Law of the land implies the right to put in another; and having made such a hole in the great dyke which holds back the sea dashing against popular liberty, how are men to prevent a steady enlargement of peril?

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VI. Again, the policy recommended to our legislators would defeat itself. It would provoke hostility. The amendment people say, "No; for such a clause is in the respective constitutions of several States; trust the American people." We are behind no one in our trust of them; but the fact is patent, that such clauses do provoke hostility.

The sure way to exasperate a man is to tell him that he *must* be good. The sure way to make a person hostile to our Saviour, in whom he does not believe, would be to post a notice to the contrary in the Constitution, and say that he will be compelled to acknowledge Jesus. The proposed arrangement, if carried out, will not make unbelievers pious, but will produce a plentiful crop of hypocrites and incense a great body of useful citizens. "Well," our opponents reply, "but they are infidels." Some are and some are not; but admit for the sake of discussion that they are infidels. Are we therefore to forget that they are men? They have as good a right to their opinion, as such, as we have to ours. Still, it is contended that "the majority should rule, and the majority in this country is overwhelmingly Christian and Protestant." Accept unqualifiedly this dogma that "the majority should rule," and see what follows. Suppose the Jews were in a majority; would they not feel inclined to tuck into our Great Charter of liberties some religious notions of Rabbi Eleazer, and some tenets of the Mischna and Gemmara? Suppose the Chinese had a majority; would they not be justified in seeking to improve the Constitution by the introduction of some choice bits of the philosophy of Mencius, or of the speculations of Confucius? Imagine a state of things in which the infidels could count most votes. Suppose they desired to place in the Constitution a statement like this,—There is no God, there is only a force, —and that then they should insist that everybody should subscribe to their view. Some man might say,—we believe he would be right in saying,—this is unjust to the people called Christians; they believe in a personal Divinity. Another might reply, Oh! well, they are only Christians; we are the majority, and the majority should rule! Would that be fair

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play? Yet so far as principle goes that would be just such action as some Christian people wish to take concerning those who differ from them. It seems to us that the policy recommended to our legislators by admirers of the amendment scheme would be just about as favorable to peace as the House of York, during the Wars of the Roses, was favorable to the House of Lancaster. Such a maxim as "The majority should rule," should be handled with exceeding care when we are discussing the relations of religion to politics, as in the hands of zealots, it is like a boomerang in unskilled hands, fraught with great possibilities of destruction. It is evident that if that maxim were constantly and relentlessly applied the Union would be jeopardized.

We are not, it appears to us, prepared to lose sight of the fact that a stupendous contest is yet in progress between two theories which are utterly irreconciliable. By one is affirmed the universal supremacy of the presumptuous and pretended successor of St. Peter. The other asserts the independent nationality of a free people. However disinterested and patriotic are the feelings of individual members, here and there, of the Papal communion, that Church abates not a jot of her arrogant claims, and earnestly aspires to imperial dominion. Her theory, in the language of the Jesuit Liberatore, is that "the State must understand itself to be a subordinate sovereignty, exercising ministerial functions under a superior sovereignty, and governing the people conformably to the will of that lord to whom it is subject." Who this "lord" is is not left to conjecture; he is "the visible monarch of God's realm on earth, to whom every baptized person is more strictly subject than to any temporal ruler whatever." Cardinal Manning did not mince matters, but expressed the sentiments of the Pope in the words, "I acknowledge no civil power, I am the subject of no prince" — (a sentiment recently echoed by an American Catholic Congress) — "I am the sole, last, supreme judge of what is right and wrong." Similar declarations were made by Cardinal John Henry Newman and have never been retracted. Let any one read Ranke's History of the Popes, the works of Doel-

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linger, Hallam's Middle Ages, the various Constitutional Histories of England, Vattel's Law of Nations, the writings of Grotius, Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, United Netherlands, John of Barneveldt, the Political Expostulations of Gladstone, the History of Ultramontanism as exhibited by the Marquis of Pombal, by Bismarck, and other statesmen, and think twice before fostering an effort to insert any religious doctrine in the Magna Charta of our Union. Not without some justification did Senator Blair of New Hampshire, not long ago, introduce a bill providing that "every applicant for citizenship shall renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign power or organization — civil, ecclesiastical, or religious."

VII. Lastly, this project of amending the Constitution with reference to the recognition of Christ as the head of this government is opposed to the teachings of the Bible. We hear abundantly about Blackstone and natural law, but it is surprising how little we hear about the express convictions and emphatic declarations of Jesus, a Heavenly Lawgiver. He never intimated to his disciples that if, at any time, they should be in power in a nation, they should insist by law on the recognition of him by all the people as the God and ruler over all. He commissioned men to say in various ways and at divers times, "the powers that be are ordained of God"; *i. e.*, that government, control, regulation of society, was according to the Divine Will, but left it to men to make such government as they saw fit. And ever since they have made it tribal, monarchical, republican, despotic, etc. On one occasion Jesus, perceiving that the people "were about to come and take him by force to make him a king, withdrew again into the mountain himself alone." He constantly disappointed the Jews, who desired and expected him to pull down the Roman power. He went further, a great deal further. He said to his followers, "Render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's"; and Cæsar was politically an emperor, nationally, a Roman, the iron-handed ruler of the Jews, and religiously he was a heathen. When Pilate asked Jesus "Art thou the king of the Jews?" the Saviour answered, "My kingdom is not of this

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world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered unto the Jews, but now is my kingdom not from hence. Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world that I should bear witness unto the truth." And Pilate, that lynx-eyed searcher of claimants to power, went out and said to the Jews, "I find in him no fault." From that day to this, the Saviour has refused to proclaim himself as the political head of any government. And every comprehensive and candid investigator of the Biblical record knows that he was as far from claiming to be the Deity as from seeking recognition as an earthly monarch.

It would therefore be a grievous wrong to the religion of Christ to entangle it in the meshes of political partizan contention. The people of these United States cannot, of course, be absolutely neutral with respect to morals, but all that is claimed is that men elected to represent them in Congress have no right to manufacture a religious creed and force it by law upon their constituents. We should love, for many weighty reasons, to have Jesus Christ reverenced and loved by everybody, but, as an eminent British orator and Christian said, we "do not want to hang the tatters of a political piety upon the cross of an insulted Saviour." We well know that any people not leavened by the principles of Christianity will be deficient in civilization, moral power, and guarantees of political perpetuity. All along the highway of history, we see the graves of nations that died of drunkenness brought on by the wine of their own "vain imaginings." But the true policy, so far as we are concerned, is not, primarily, to get divine truth into human law but into human life. Christianity is manifestly of God. "Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?" And can the Omnipotent borrow strength from human enactment? Does Jehovah look to human governments to preserve the power or to secure the high destiny of the peerless faith of Jesus? In particular will this truth of Him who "taketh up the isles as a very little thing, and counteth the earth as the

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small dust of the balance," fail of its intended effect unless this country, which, compared with the Lord's universe, is as a mere mote floating in the summer air, shall put his name into her chief political instrument? The doctrine of Christianity has always won its way, not by compulsion, but by voluntary acquiescence. With the words, "My kingdom is not of this world," the Son of God went forth to the conquest of the whole earth. With no weapons but those formed by peace, and with no war-cry but that of universal righteousness and fraternity, Christ has won his moral victories, age after age, in the midst alike of barbarous and of cultivated people. In the truest hearts of every land may be seen the triumphal arches of the Divine Ruler, whose spreading kingdom shall endure unto all generations.

We respect the great political document which defines the rights, the privileges, the duties, of the American people. We trust it will abide for centuries, and that as the ages roll on its great lessons of wisdom and its principles of toleration and fraternity may sink deeper and deeper into the hearts of all men, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean. But it is because we thus cherish it that we hope it will be protected against the well-meant but injudicious efforts of those who mistake weakness for strength and Congressional enactments for guarantees of national holiness. Let our faith and hope rest, not on the quicksands of plausible religious speculation, but on the rock of the Revelation which declares Christianity competent to take care of itself.

Let each person seek the welfare of the body politic, not in questionable legislation, but in unobtrusive, steady loyalty to Him whose "kingdom is not of this world." Then in his blessed "fulness of time," in answer to prayer and in approval of good works, the august Builder of nations will put his spirit upon all hearts and make this broad land, our beloved country, even as the Paradise of God.

S. A. Whitcomb.

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Article XXVIII.

Radicalism and Conservatism.

In nearly every age of the world there has existed two distinct classes of minds. representing two opposite extremes in the realm of human thought. One class has been known as radicals and the other as conservatives. Both of these have appeared in connection with every phase of thought and activity among men. The former class naturally accepts everything new, because of its novelty; the latter class as naturally holds on to everything old, because of its age. In science, in philosophy, in politics, and in religion, we find these opposite poles of thought protruding in either direction, beyond the set tled convictions of the masses. These minds are always considered as extremists in their day and generation. One is too headstrong; the other is too cautious. One rushes blindly into the future without clearly seeing his way; the other tries to shut out the light which new revelations of truth shed upon the world, and stands gazing fondly into the past.

Paul recognized both of these tendencies in his day. He saw men eagerly grasping at each new form of doctrine they heard of, without examination or test; accepting it because it was something new. On the other hand, he saw men holding with tenacious grasp all the "traditions of the elders"—all the accumulated thoughts and superstitions of the past, no matter how unreasonable and absurd many of them might be; pressing them close to their hearts, fearing to part with them, because they were cherished by the fathers. He saw that both these tendencies were subject to dangers; that one party was hugging to his bosom the worn-out, musty volumes of useless traditions, while the other was chasing the fleeting baubles of new and wonderful theories, which were ever making their appearance in the mental horizon. He saw clearly that these extremes of thought must be checked or the infant churches which he was trying to build up would soon be without foundation or life. They could not flourish and grow strong on the

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acquisitions of the past alone, nor wholly upon uncertain speculations concerning what the future might reveal. He did not wish to entirely repress either tendency, but rather to utilize them both and adjust them into harmonious relations. To the Thessalonians he wrote, "Prove all things." Do not be satisfied with any new doctrine till it has been tested to see whether it bears the imprint of truth. On the other hand, hold not to any old idea, no matter how dearly the fathers may have cherished it, unless it has been tested by the same rule. As a complement to this injunction, he says, "Hold fast that which is good." Whether it be of the old or the new, whatever proves to be good, should be held fast.

But it is evident that the Church and the world have not heeded these wise words of advice from the faithful apostle, for these unreasonable extremists are still in existence. In science, in politics, and in religion, we still find the extreme radicals and the extreme conservatives. One standing upon the very verge of the universe and eagerly peering into the future for some new and startling notion that may appear; the other groping his way among the tombs of the antediluvians, refusing to believe that any new light has dawned upon the world since the fathers fell asleep.

Of what use or advantage to the world are either of these classes? One holds fast everything his fathers believed, whether good, bad, or indifferent; the other holds fast to nothing, but is always grasping at but never reaching the phantoms that flit before his imagination. These two tendencies are well illustrated in scientific speculations concerning the origin of the human species. One man jumps eagerly at the theory of Evolution as demonstrated by Darwin,— declaring it to be the grandest thought of the age. Another sticks to the tradition of the ages, that man was literally formed from the dust of the earth. Neither of them attempts to test his peculiar theory; both credulously adopt the theories of others, without personal investigation. The radical will not hold fast this new idea, but will abandon it as soon as some theory more novel and wonderful shall be announced; the conservative will con-

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tinue to hug his "man of mud," no matter how many or how strong may be the witnesses against him.

In political matters these two characters are strikingly portrayed. Here is a man who is always aroused at the mention of the word "reform." He is always enthusiastic over any new movement, no matter what name it may take nor what it proposes to do. He sees the millenium dawning upon the land every time a new departure is taken by political or social reformers. He does not examine these so-called reforms, neither does he apply any tests to determine their genuineness or adaptability to the needs of the people. If he can only see a change of some kind, he does not care much what it is so long as it is new and claims to be "progressive." At the other extreme, there are others who think that political matters should go on about as they always have done. There must be no new methods adopted, because our fathers were men of skill and wisdom, and knew what they were about when they framed the Constitution and founded the government. Can we expect to improve on their work? These men cling to the old methods and the old names, because they think it would be dishonoring the fathers to deviate from their customs or ideas. They hold with tenacious grasp to the things that are old and venerable, but see nothing good in the pretended improvements of modern times. Now, if all such extremists would adopt the rule of Paul, they would come nearer a correct understanding of these things. Paul would say to them, "Prove, test all these different theories of government, both old and new, and see whether or not they meet the demands of the present age. Do not accept the old ideas and methods simply because they are old and because your fathers found them good in their day. Neither jump eagerly for every new thing that makes its appearance. Give it a fair trial. Test it by reason and experience; then, whatever proves to be useful and essential, hold it fast."

But however striking may be the appearance of these two opposite tendencies in other realms of thought, there is no subject upon which they find such full play as that of religion.

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Here the opposing parties are at the widest variance, both equally unreasonable and unjust in their demands. Here we have the extreme conservatives, who cling to the greater portion of the ideas and methods of the early church, but admit nothing new in the realm of religious truth. They believe, or try to do so, what has for ages been believed, too often with no clear conception of the doctrines to which they give consent. They hold fast to the traditions, forms, and ceremonies of the early church, without investigating to see whether they are of God, or are man's invention. They send up the cry of heresy and infidelity the moment one of these venerable notions is doubted or attacked. They see no good, but great harm, coming from all theological researches, because they believe that all these things have been settled for ages. All the advanced thoughts of modern times are to them the wicked invention of men, who are seeking to undermine the Church of the living God. With great tenacity they hold on to the old, and with equal wilfulness resist the new.

At the other extreme is a class of men apparently without reverence, or even ordinary respect for the things of the past. With merciless hands they would tear down the altars of devout worshippers, declaring all such performances to be the outgrowth of blind superstition. They see no special good coming from the support of the ministry, classing all clergymen under the head of the "priesthood," and crying out against them all as "spiritual tyrants." They use no discrimination whatever between the true and the false in religious traditions and histories. They scoff at faith and prayer, and prate loudly about the absolute supremacy of law. They bring everything to the test of what they call "common sense"; a sense, however, which is not common only among a certain class of spiritual iconoclasts.

Thus do we find the extreme radical and the extreme conservative in the religious world. One holds fast everything that is old, regardless of inconsistencies and absurdities; the other holds to nothing with any degree of tenacity. One reads his Bible, and believes every word and punctuation mark to

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have been dictated by the Almighty himself; the other reads it, and accepts as true only those portions that look "reasonable" and suit his peculiar tastes and notions. One believes that the earth was created in six literal days; the other doubts whether it was ever created at all after any intelligent method, having no distinct idea of its creator. One accepts the whole Bible as a miraculous and supernatural production, handed down from heaven in the form in which it was originally written; the other has no distinct belief concerning the matter, standing ready to adopt any new theory provided it looks "reasonable." One believes that Jesus was the very God; the other is not positive that such a being as the historical Christ ever existed. And so we might go on almost indefinitely showing these two extremes in religious belief and speculation. They both contain elements that are essential to true religious belief. They both possess germs of truth; but they go to such extremes and carry their distinguishing characteristics to such an absurd degree that they destroy all good results that might be derived from them. Neither of them apply any proper tests to their pet theories to ascertain wherein they may be correct and wherein erroneous.

Now it is evident, that if there is anything in true religion that is worth the seeking; if there is an element of power as well as of beauty in Christianity; if it is uplifting, ennobling, purifying, as we have reason to believe it is, these elements must be sought somewhere between these two extremes. Because, if Christianity, as Christ taught it, is the religion for the whole world and for all time, then its principles can never be outgrown, nor become useless, but they will be fresh and vigorous in every age. Neither will they be transient and fleeting; they will establish a foundation that will stand forever. Because one party cries out against new doctrines and theories, and the other protests against old doctrines and creeds, it does not prove that either new theories or old creeds are unessential to religious belief. On the contrary, if we find that a medium ground must be taken, then some of the elements of both extremes must be employed. And how shall we know

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where to draw the dividing line unless we apply a test to them both which shall determine what is essential and what is not. And what better test can we apply than the one Paul has given us: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

No one can be justified in setting aside all the historical evidences of Christianity, and declaring as baseless the authorities which for centuries have stood as the foundation of the visible Church. No one has a right, without presenting the most convincing proof to the contrary, to say that no such thing as miracles were ever wrought, and that there were no supernatural agencies employed in the formative period of the Christian religion. The New Testament records make this claim, plain and positive, if we understand the meaning of its language. We say, therefore, that he who denies it, must prove his position by unquestionable evidence. As another has truly said: —

"Do you say there can be no miracles? Well, prove it, and they must go. Only, *no assumptions.* Do you deny inspiration? Well, the world has thought otherwise, and the burden of proof lies with the attack. Still, prove it, and we will give it up. But mind, no assumptions. Do you evacuate the life of Jesus of everything not known in other human lives? You undertake a task indeed; but if you find proof, we must close our lips and assent. Only remember, here and always, we will have no 'of course,' or 'cannot be,' or 'must be'; nobody's guess, or intuition, or sneer; nothing but solid proof. Whatever is finally shown to rest on that is God's."[1]

On the other hand, no one can be justified in disregarding the testimony of science, or the disclosures of modern scholarship, or the vast array of facts and principles that have been unfolded in recent years, touching the question of natural and revealed religion. He who shuts his eyes to these things does so in the spirit of a wilful bigot, and is brother to the blind man who denies the existence of the sun, because he has no power of vision. The extreme conservative may refuse to accept the conclusions reached by the "higher criticism"; he

[1] Rev. J. Smith Dodge.

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may denounce all such claims as the sophistries of Satan to tempt souls away from the ancient and only true faith; he may cling to his seventeenth century creed and ignore all attempts to readjust his belief in harmony with the thought of the present age,—and yet his assumptions prove nothing. His cry of heresy does not settle the question, "What is truth?" All his anathemas against these new ideas do not convince the masses that they are false or of bad tendency. The only just and reasonable ground that any one can take, whether at one extreme or the other, is to "prove all things."

Take, for instance, that one doctrine which has for ages held sway over the minds of Christian believers,—endless punishment. Why is it that this dogma of unending woe for a portion of God's children has been so generally accepted among "Evangelical" Christians? Is it because they have thoroughly tested the doctrine to see whether it be of divine or human origin? Is it not rather because it has so long been held as an essential part of Christian faith? Is it not because it is old and venerable, and has been believed and preached for centuries? And now, why is it that so many in all sects and churches are beginning to doubt if not positively deny it? Why is it that Universalists regard this doctrine as the most monstrous blasphemy ever breathed against the holy name of God? Is it not because we have tested it? Is it not because we have weighed it, and found it wanting in everything that enters into a rational Christian faith? Have we not proved it to be unscriptural, unreasonable, unjust; as contrary to the nature of God's government, and repulsive to the noblest desires and the deepest feelings of the human heart? Are these not the reasons why men and women all over the world are declaring their disbelief in this relic of heathen superstitions? Yes, human minds and hearts are continually proving it, in the light of Scripture, enlightened reason, and experience; and because they find it not good, but exceedingly bad, they discard it forever.

So ought it to be with every form of doctrine, with every phase of truth, whether to us it be new or old. We must be

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both radical and conservative. We must seek to understand principles before we accept them,—try to get at the root of truth, and gladly welcome the new as fast as we find it worthy of our acceptance. And we should conserve, or hold fast, all that we find to be true and good; accept much on the authority of others, as indeed we are obliged to accept all authentic history; exercise faith when reason fails. Says Phillips Brooks:—

"What is radicalism? It is not tearing things up by the roots, as the word is sometimes interpreted. It is getting down to the roots of things, and planting institutions anew on just principles. An enlightened radicalism has regard for righteousness and good government, and will resist all enslavement to old forms and traditions, and will set them aside, unless it shall appear that any of these have a radically just and defensible reason for their existence and continuance."

In adopting the rule of the apostle in testing truth, we should remember that all phases of truth cannot be brought to the same test. Historical truth should be subjected to one kind of proof; abstract material truths to another; spiritual truths to another. It is impossible to prove everything by reason alone. Faith must often stand as the "substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen." The intuitions and affections are not infrequently the channels through which the soul receives its assurance of the eternal realities. We cannot prove all phases of truth by one set of faculties, more than we can test the reality of all material things by any one of the senses. We recognize the light through the organ of vision; sounds through that of hearing; odors by the organ of smelling, and so on. How absurd for a man to say, "I will not believe in the sun, unless I can hear it; nor in music unless I can see it; nor in the scent of the rose unless I can handle it." This would be demanding an impossibility,—that which is out of the natural order of things. There is no lack of evidence of these things when we seek it through the proper agencies. Even so there is no lack of evi-

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dence in the realm of truth, when we are willing to receive it through the medium which a wise Creator has provided.

The principle thing of all, however, is to retain and make our own all things we have proved to be true and good. The fault with many who call themselves radicals, is not that they so readily accept new phases of truth, or what claim to be such; but rather because of their persistence in trying to overthrow everything that is old. They are not true radicals, because instead of getting at the root of things for the sake of testing their genuineness, they frequently attempt to pull everything up by the roots. Such a destructive disposition is the greatest enemy to human progress.

Truth is like a globe. It is composed of many segments. When they are all united in their proper relations, they make one complete whole. But, as no one person can view all sides and segments of a globe at once, so no human mind can see all truth at the same time. Men judge of it from the point of view at which they stand, and according to the light shed upon it from that position. No two persons can view it from precisely the same point, at the same time. There will be differences of position; variations in light and shade; and sometimes two persons may view it from opposite sides. But because one man looks at truth at a certain angle, he has no right to assume that he sees it all, and that another man does not see any of it. The truth remains the same unchangeable quantity, but it is the difference in the quality of light through which each one looks that makes the variations. God and his truth remain ever the same, but man is constantly shifting his position, and clouds of doubt ever and anon flit across the range of his vision.

No intelligent Christian who has faith in the ultimate triumph of truth will be in the least alarmed at the many new disclosures and wonderful revelations of modern times. Neither will he be clogged in his onward progress by holding fast to those eternal principles of truth that are as old as the universe. With a backward look upon the past, he may rest assured that whatever is not of the truth, but is only a creature

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of human imagination, will surely die, like the bodies we now inhabit; but all that is stamped with the image of the divine will live forever, like our immortal spirits. And with forward look into the future, he may boldly advance toward the treasures yet unsealed, knowing that the pure gold of truth will shine brighter after it has passed through the crucial furnace, while the dross of error will perish in the flames.

> "The nimble lie
> Is like the second-hand upon a clock;
> We see it fly: while the hour-hand of truth
> Seems to stand still, and yet it moves unseen
> And wins at last, for the clock will not strike
> Till it has reached the gaol."

S. P. Smith.

Article XXIX.

The Resurrection of Christ.

II. The Unity of the Narratives.

To one who assumes the substantial unity of the narratives of Christ's resurrection, the question of their origin is quite simple, and is determined by that theory which best explains their several and various elements. The New Testament student in examining these elements is shut up to the theory of their source in a great historical fact if he once grants their unity in origin and contents. But this is a point in dispute and its settlement must be effected before one can pronounce on the historical validity of the narratives. There are critics who deny their unity, and who declare that their elements are mixed and heterogeneous, combining truth and myth, having somewhat of historical basis but so overgrown with fanciful and imaginative conceits as to greatly change their real aspect; and that these must be cut entirely away before the solid historical elements can be discovered.

The question then for the New Testament student concerns

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the contents of the New Testament narratives. Do they have substantial unity, or are they mixed and heterogeneous in their composition? This question can enter but two courts of judgment, one historical, the other literary. But the witnesses in the court of history are too few, scanty, and separated from the event to be of material service. Go back as far as the documents at hand will allow, and we have but one story, the story of the narratives in substance and to a great extent in detail; and the questioning critic urges that the age of myth is before the age of historical documents. So only a single court remains open; the court of literary criticism; and one question only is to be examined: What do the contents of the narratives reveal? Have they a single solid center with accompanying details holding organic relations to this center, or are the details incongruous, contradictory, and chaotic?

The candid New Testament student is not permitted to assume a position on either side of this question. They who think it impious to deny the unity and truth of the New Testament stories are its unwise friends; the present day has short patience with their methods and beliefs; and they who assume the existence of mythical elements in the New Testament because it contradicts their cherished opinions do not reveal any valid canon of literary criticism as the basis of their judgment but only the bias of *a priori* and dogmatic notions; and their declarations only confuse the issue and delay its settlement. The true student must examine without show of favor or bias of prejudice the contents of the narratives. He has three branches of inquiry to pursue: Their differences, their agreements, and the relations of certain elements in the various sources of testimony.

1. What do the differences reveal? Here if anywhere we must find marked traces of totally unlike sources for the narratives. Here the fatal contradiction between truth and error must appear if it at all exists. Are these differences contradictions or are they only dissimilarities? Are they such as reveal wide historical chasms separating the work of hands in different ages? Or are they more or less capable of recon-

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ciliation, and bearing marks of different hands working in the same age and out of a great mass of common and unsorted tradition? Our witnesses in this inquiry are the records of the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth Gospel, and Paul's epistles. There are other witnesses, but for sake of simplicity and brevity we may dismiss them from court and examine only these main ones. There are about twelve points of disagreement found in the several accounts.

We will examine first the point of *the time of the resurrection.* Mark says "Very early in the morning, the first day of the week."[1] Luke says "Upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning."[2] The Fourth Gospel says "The first day of the week when it was yet dark."[3] Here is not only substantial agreement, but agreement in detail as well. Keim, however, finds the first Gospel introducing discord.[4] It says, "In the end of the Sabbath — ὀψὲ σαββάτων.—, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week."[5] At a hasty glance this seems quite in line with the other narratives; but the searching eye of the critic detects a possible difference. According to ancient Jewish usage the end of the Sabbath meant late on Saturday afternoon, while the other accounts point plainly to Sunday morning. To this consideration a reply is urged that the writer of the first Gospel was a Roman publican and did not conform to ancient Jewish usage in computing time. As indicative of his habit compare Matt. XVII 1, with Luke IX. 28, where one uses six according to Roman habit and the other eight according to Jewish habit to indicate the same number of days. Moreover the expression "began to dawn toward the first day of the week" does not consist with the beginning of the darkness of night. Again the search of the women for the disciples, the movements of the watch and the chief priests and elders all involve the light of day, while most significant of all the device manufactured by them, that the disciples came by night,[6] is fatal to Keim's

[1] Mark xvi. 2. [2] Luke xxiv. 1. [3] Johnxx. 1.

[4] Jesus of Nazara, Vol. vi. p. 303. note. [5] Matt. xxviii. 1. [6] Matt. xxviii. 13.

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forced and artificial point. This point disappears then as one of difference and becomes one of agreement.

A second point of difference is that the first Gospel *introduces an earthquake* as accompanying the coming of the angel and the removal of the stone.[7] The most that can be said is that this is peculiar to Matthew and contradicts nothing found in the other writings. One may think it to be mythical, but he must have other reason than the fact that Matthew alone mentions it. Indeed there are signs in the other Gospels that those days were marked by seismic disturbances.[8]

The Gospel accounts differ as to *the angelic appearances.* Matthew notes the presence of one angel;[9] Mark speaks of a young man in a white stole.[10] He, however, has an appearance calculated to strike terror to the minds of the women;[11] Luke mentions two men in shining garments;[12] and John tells of two angels.[13] Here are differences; but if angels were supposed to assume the human form one element of contradiction disappears. Luke later speaks of them as angels[14] and the fear of the women mentioned by Mark seems to point to the same idea. We have no means of explaining the discrepancy as to numbers. We must let it stand and be content to ask ourselves how far significant it is of different origin in time and of the introduction of myth. One would suppose that the myth would be found in the introduction of the angel and not in the simple difference as to the number of angels.

When one considers *the appearance of the angels, their positions, etc.*, the differences multiply, and become complex and difficult of reconciliation. The first Gospel makes the angel of the Lord come in the departing night with shining face and snow white garment and seats him on the stone which he has rolled from the mouth of the tomb.[15] The general and indeterminate nature of Matthew's relation is to be here noted. We do not know when the women came or when the watch departed. Mark locates the young man in the tomb and sitting

[7] Matt. xxviii. 2. [8] Mark xv. 33. Luke xxiii. 44, 45. [9] Matt. xxviii. 2.
[10] Mark xvi. 5. [11] Mark xvi. 5, 8. [12] Luke xxiv. 4. [13] John xx. 12.
[14] Luke xxiv. 23. [15] Matt. xxviii. 1-3.

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on the right side.[16] In Luke the two men in shining garments stand suddenly by the women in the tomb;[17] while in John the two angels are seen sitting, one at the head, the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain.[18] These differences must stand unreconciled. But what has myth added in varying the number and position of the angels? Their appearance and their announcement of the resurrection are found in all the Gospels.

Critics have made much of the point of *Christ's first appearance.* A brief examination of this point brings into clear light a characteristic of the New Testament writers that makes plain the source of many of their differences. Matthew says Jesus met the women who had been to the tomb.[19] He does not say all of them; he does not say which one of them; he writes in a vague and indeterminate way. He does not even say that this was Christ's first appearance. In using the Gospel of Mark we must call attention to the critical question as to the genuineness of Mark XVI. 9–20. Granting that these verses do not belong to the original Gospel they are yet of very ancient origin and may be used in comparing tradition with tradition. They say Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene.[20] This is the only explicit statement on this point found in the four Gospels. Luke does not raise the point of Christ's first appearance. He narrates the appearance to the two on the way to Emmaus,[21] indicating in a very indirect way a previous (?) appearance to Peter.[22] John does not explicitly declare that Christ appeared first to Mary, but his very circumstantial narration strongly implies it. Paul in his lis. of appearances first names Peter.[23] But we have no reason to suppose that he meant to give a complete list or to give the order of the appearings. Of this we shall speak more at length subsequently in this paper. We certainly find no contradictions in these several accounts. We note, however, some of their striking characteristics. They are partial in their nature, some are vague and general, and some are pre-

[16] Mark xvi. 5. [17] Luke xxiv. 3, 4. [18] John xx. 12. [19] Matt. xxviii. 9.
[20] Mark xvi. 9. [21] Luke xxiv. 15. [22] Luke xxiv. 34. [23] 1 Cor. xv. 5.

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cise and particular. They seem to have been taken by different writers out of a mass of unsorted traditions, and so while they differ in details are alike in all substantial and essential points.

The next point to be considered is *the number of women* who visited the tomb. Matthew mentions only the two Marys;[24] Mark adds Salome;[25] Luke adds Joanna and other women;[26] and John mentions only Mary Magdalene,[27] but implies the presence of other women in the plural οἴδαμεν in Mary's words to the disciples[28] It is beneath the dignity of this inquiry to urge ground for reconciling these differences. One may not deny that it exists, but he must see that it is not stated or implied, and he has no just warrant to search for it. He can safely say that the differences are not contradictions; and he may calmly ask the critic to point out in them any signs of the work of a myth-making tendency.

One enters a perfect maze of difficulties in attempting to trace and reconcile *the movements of the women.* If the student were required to do this work he might well throw up his hands in despair. But his inquiry concerns the nature of these differences and the consequent nature of the testimony out of which they arise. What do these narratives indicate on this point? A hidden basis of truth with overgrowing and incongruous details, due to the influence of later days, or substantial agreement and incidental and unimportant differences such as might arise from different and contemporary sources? Matthew's Gospel contains these points: The women come to see the tomb before light on Sunday, see the angel, and receive his announcement of their Master's resurrection, go from the tomb with joy and fear to bring word to the disciples, on the way meet Jesus, hold him by the feet and worship him.[29] Mark makes the women come to the tomb at sunrise on Sunday with sweet spices to anoint his body; they find the stone removed, enter the tomb, see the strange form of the young man, receive his announcement of the resurrection, and in

[24] Matt. xxviii. 1. [25] Mark xvi. 1. [26] Luke xxiv. 10.
[27] John xx. 1. [28] John xx. 2. [29] Matt. xxviii. 1,5–8.

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great fear and trembling depart and are silent about what they have seen and heard.[30] The following verses belonging to the addendum to Mark's Gospel narrate Jesus' appearance to Mary Magdalene and her announcement to the apostles.[31] Luke tells of their coming early on Sunday morning to the tomb with spices; that they find the stone removed, the body gone; that they see the two men — angels they are called in vs. 23, — in fear receive the angels' announcement, and depart to tell the apostles.[32] He does not narrate Christ's appearance to the women. John omits all reference except an implied one to other women than Mary; he reports her as coming to the tomb, finding it empty, going away to find Peter and John, returning after they have come to the tomb and gone, and seeing the angel and Jesus.[33] Here we find again John's particularity in contrast with the more general narratives of the synoptics. We must note also the formal and, on the surface, the explicit contradiction between Matthew and Mark as to the conduct of the women after seeing the angels. Matthew says they told the apostles,[34] Mark says they told no man because they were afraid.[35] The synoptics make the women see the angels on their first visit;[36] the Fourth Gospel makes Mary see them on the second visit.[37] In Luke the women announce the words of the angel.[38] In John Mary announces the disappearance of the body.[39] Here is a mass of tangled details; and we have no clue by which we can disentangle them. We have only the angelic appearance and announcement, and, omitting the silent Luke, Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene. The body of significant details remains intact; the differences are incidental and insignificant. If myth had any influence upon these narratives it concerned itself with exceedingly trivial matters, and left to historical verity the great facts of the visible and risen body of Jesus.

Again critics have thought they found contradictions in the

[30] Mark xvi. 1, 2, 4–8. [31] Mark xvi. 9, 10. [32] Luke xxiv. 1–9.
[33] John xx. 1, 2, 11, 12, 14. [34] Matt. xxviii. 8. [35] Mark xvi. 8.
[36] Matt. xxviii. 1, 5–8; Mark xvi. 1, 2, 5–8; Luke xxiv. 1, 4–7.
[37] John xx. 1, 2, 11–13. [38] Luke xxiv. 4–7, 9. [39] John xx. 2.

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statements as to *the location of Christ's appaerances.* Keim locates them exclusively in Galilee,[40] and for the following reasons: Paul is to be taken as the standard authority, and he locates "one out of five appearances" in Galilee; therefore "it is plain that the other four must have been there."[41] It is true "Paul does not mention Galilee,"[42] but there could not have been five hundred followers of Christ collected in Jerusalem, so the appearance must have been in Galilee where Jesus' followers were abundant and unterrified.[43] Jesus' crucifixion scattered the disciples so that they at once left Judea for Galilee. So all the appearances in Jerusalem are mythical.[44] To one who credits Dr. Keim with historical candor it is exceedingly difficult to discover his reasons for these editings of the records, and the steps by which he gains his conclusions from his premises. Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, in the shape in which we read them, all mention Christ's appearance at Jerusalem. Paul, as Keim admits, mentions no locality, and for the sufficient reason that this was not essential to his purpose; so his testimony does not bear upon the point. And even if we admit that the vision of Jesus by the five hundred was in Galilee how does it follow that the other four appearings must have been there also? And when we find Keim calling up whole sections of the Gospel records and casting them aside as mythical, pronouncing this part ancient and that part of later origin, this part original and that the work of an editor and we search throughout his work for his standard of judgment and his canons of evidence and find not a ray of light to guide us toward his conclusions, the study becomes painful, and we are forced to pause and turn our backs to the road our critic is going. That way lies not the path of safe historical criticism.

To whom did Christ appear? Matthew records his appearing to the women as they go from the tomb and to the eleven on a mountain in Galilee.[45] The addendum to Mark says he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, to two as they went

[40] Jesus of Nazara, vol. vi., p. 281. [41] Ibid. p. 282. [42] Ibid. p. 282.
[43] Ibid. p. 282. [44] Ibid. pp. 283, 284, 285. [45] Matt. xxviii. 9, 16, 17.

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into the country and to the eleven as they sat at meat.[46] Luke notes the appearance to the two on the road to Emmaus to Peter and to the eleven as they sat at meat;[47] while John narrates the appearance to Mary, to the eleven that night at meat, to the eleven a week later, and to the disciples on the shores of the sea of Galilee.[48]

Inasmuch as Paul's account is taken as a standard account we turn to his list. He says that Christ was seen of Peter, of the twelve, of above five hundred brethren at once, of James, of the twelve again and last of all of Paul himself.[49] He omits all reference to Mary Magdalene and to the two unknown disciples on the road to Emmaus. Some critics follow Paul so exclusively that they reject as mythical all appearings that he does not mention. This is on the assumption that he meant to give a complete list. But the assumption is unwarrented and takes no account of the simplest rules of exegesis. If one examines Paul's writing on this point he will find that his purpose was to convince the Corinthian Christians of the resurrection of the dead, and that to serve this purpose he cites witnesses who would have special weight in their minds; the well-known Peter, the eleven, James and Paul himself. The great number who saw him is given as adding force to the testimony, the fact that most of them were still alive adds more force, and the repetition of the mention of the twelve is a new degree of emphasis. Paul omits to mention the women unknown to the Corinthian believers and the unknown two going into the country because their testimony would not serve his purpose. We may safely say that he not only did not intend to give a complete list of Christ's appearings, but that he naturally avoided doing so.

We turn next to the question *how long did Christ remain on earth after his resurrection.* In examining the authorities in the Gospels one is struck anew with the exceedingly partial and general nature of their accounts. In Matthew the time element is altogether omitted. Two appearances of Christ are

[46] Mark xvi. 9, 12, 14. [47] Luke xxiv. 13–32, 34, 36–43.
[48] John xx. 14, 19–23, 26–29; xxi. 1 ff. [49] 1 Cor. xv. 5–8.

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noted with no mark to indicate their relation to each other in point of time, and then the narrative is dropped.[50] The addendum to Mark uses the very indefinite term, "after the Lord had spoken unto them he was received up into heaven."[51] Taking into account the Gospel's constant habit of covering wide spaces of time by such expressions, we have no indication as to the time from it In Luke's account, Christ's talk to the apostles in their gathering at Jerusalem is followed immediately by his leading them out to Bethany and his being parted from them and carried into heaven.[52] Some have thought Luke meant to narrate these events as occurring at the same time; but in the appeal to usage the decision is against this idea: the narratives often closely associate events widely separated in time. We are also sustained in this decision by what Luke has written in Acts. He says, "He showed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs being seen of them forty days."[53] Keim's statements that "Luke distinctly makes the day of resurrection also the day of departure" and that then he "quite overstepped the bounds of possibility by adopting a fresh tradition which a late source may have supplied him with, and on the authority of which he — probably to the astonishment of Theophilus, to whom he dedicated his work — followed up the close of his Gospel and its one day, with the beginning of his Acts of the Apostles with its forty last days of Jesus upon earth,"[54] are instructive at least as a good example of our critic's unbridled use of his imagination in furnishing himself and his readers with facts. John is explicit enough in stating the time of two of his appearings;[55] but these are followed by the timeless narrative of the appearing by the sea of Galilee.[56] So we have nowhere given by our authorities any explicit statement as to the time Jesus spent on earth after his crucifixion, excepting the general expression of Luke in Acts. There can be then no contradictions between our witnesses upon this point.

[50] Matthew xxviii. 9, 10, 16-20. [51] Mark xvi. 19. [52] Luke xxiv. 50, 51.
[53] Actsi. 3. [54] Jesus of Nazara, vol. vi. p. 288.
[55] John xx. 19, 26. [56] John xxi. 1 ff.

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So we turn to another closely connected with the foregoing, *the time and place of his ascension.* Matthew does not mention his ascension at all, but on the contrary gives Jesus' promise to remain with his disciples always.[57] Mark does not mention the place in which the ascension occurred and gives us no hint as to the time. He only places it "after the Lord had spoken unto them."[58] Luke locates the ascension at Bethany,[59] but is, as we have found, indeterminate as to time. In Acts he locates it on the Mount of Olives — near Bethany — and forty days after the resurrection.[60] And John says nothing whatever about the ascension.

There are some very striking facts to be noted in taking account of *the aspects of Christ's risen body.* Perhaps this point has been as productive of doubt as to the historical truth of the narratives as all other points combined. In many aspects Christ's body seems to be material; it can be seen and touched, can partake of food and exhibits the marks of wounds. In others it seems to be immaterial, appearing and disappearing suddenly, having strange and unusual appearance, passing through closed doors, etc. What explanation one may assign to the association of these unlike aspects we are not at this time concerned to discuss; we have on hand a consideration of the testimony involving these statements. Do there seem to have been modifications of the ancient tradition introduced in later time into the narratives? Do the different witnesses contradict each other on this point?

Matthew's record contains these points: He was seen,[61] he spoke,[62] he could be touched and held,[63] and he was to be with the disciples till the end of the age.[64] In all explicit statements the aspects of Christ's body in this witness are material. There is however in his constant presence with his followers a plain implication of a spiritual condition such as was held in common by his people after his death, and which appears on almost every page of Paul's writings. The adden-

[57] Matt. xxviii. 20. [58] Mark xvi. 19. [59] Luke xxiv. 50. [60] Acts i. 12, 3.
[61] Matt. xxviii. 9. [62] Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.
[63] Matt. xxviii. 9, 10. [64] Matt. xxviii. 20.

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dum to Mark gives him visibility, [65] but notes a change in form, [66] notes his speaking, [67] and his rising into heaven. [68] In Luke's record, Jesus is seen [69] and speaks, [70] breaks bread, [71] yet is in strange form [72] and disappears suddenly, [73] appears to his disciples to be a spirit, [74] has flesh and bones, [75] eats, [76] and is carried into heaven. [77] In Luke's record the material aspects are particularly noted evidently for the purpose of calling attention to the reality of Christ's appearance. For instance Christ is made to seek to convince his disciples that he is alive and is not a mere shadow, by showing his hands and feet and by eating; yet the spiritual aspects are implied and more plainly stated than in either Matthew or Mark. In John we are left in doubt as to whether Mary's failure to recognize him [78] was on account of her mental state, the uncertainty of the light or the bodily condition of Jesus.

But while he speaks, [79] shows his disciples his hands and his side, [80] evidently exhibiting his wounds, and breathes upon his disciples, [81] he yet passes through shut doors, [82] and exhibits a knowledge of events occurring when he was not visibly present. [83] We must also take into account the teaching of the Fourth Gospel on Christ's departure, glorification, and power over the Holy Spirit, brought out in Chapters XIV.-XVII.

All four Gospels exhibit in some form or other a mingling of material and immaterial aspects in the risen body of Jesus. Whether or not these are consistent with each other in the nature of things, is not the question we have to consider in this paper; but certainly the Gospels do not contradict each other; their records are substantially and largely in details the same.

Paul has some light to shed upon this point; but in quite a different way from that of the Gospels. They treat the event historically, he doctrinally or ethically. We find no explicit

[65] Mark xvi. 9. [66] Mark xvi. 12. [67] Mark xvi. 14 ff. [68] Mark xvi. 19.
[69] Luke xxiv. 15. [70] Luke xxiv. 17. [71] Luke xxiv. 30.
[72] Luke xxiv. 16. [73] Luke xxiv. 31. [74] Luke xxiv. 37.
[75] Luke xxiv. 39. [76] Luke xxiv. 43. [77] Luke xxiv. 57.
[78] John xx. 15. [79] John xx. 16, 19. [80] John xx. 20.
[81] John xx. 22. [82] John xx. 19, 26. [83] John xx. 27.

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description in him; what we discover as to his idea of the nature of the event must be derived from implications. In his doctrinal treatment of the resurrection, he makes two points: Christ's resurrection and the resurrection of humanity are vitally bound up with each other;[84] and the resurrection of all is in a spiritual body.[85] Paul wrote that he saw Jesus;[86] and some have argued from this that the vision was only a mental one, and imaginary; and so vanishes all reality from the whole series of appearances. But the facts do not warrant any such conclusion. Paul does not claim to have had any such visions as are described in the Gospels. He saw Jesus after his ascension when all appearances of materiality had vanished and he was dwelling in a glorified body in a land of light above the brightness of the midday sun.[87] But this idea of Christ's post-ascension condition was held by all in the early Christian days, implied in the Synoptic narratives of the resurrection and explicitly taught in the Fourth Gospel. As to whether or not Paul believed in the mingled material and immaterial aspects of Christ's body in the post-crucifixion days we have no certain evidence. We have, however, some rather forcible implications. He does not treat the resurrection as a throwing off of the material body, as one removes a glove, but rather as a change of the body from a physical to a spiritual condition.[88] Another forcible indication of the same idea is contained in his description of the condition to which he longed to attain,[89] in which he is not to be unclothed but clothed upon, that mortality might be absorbed by life.

These are all the points of difference in the narratives usually treated by critics; and so far as we can see there are in them no indications of substantial unlikeness but rather of substantial agreement. There are very few absolute contradictions and these upon unessential points whose omission would not touch the great questions at issue in the religious world. Such differences as exist show effects of a very wide

[84] 1 Cor. xv. 13, 15, 16, 20, 22. [85] 1 Cor. xv. 35–49. [86] 1 Cor. xv. 8.
[87] Acts ix. 3; xxvi. 13. [88] 1 Cor. xv. 51. [89] 2 Cor. v. 1–4.

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whole seized upon by the Gospel writer and given in disjointed and unrelated condition.

Another is found in the notice of the women holding Jesus by the feet.[91] This strangely enough is associated with the account in the Fourth Gospel where Mary is enjoined, not to touch Jesus, as he has not yet risen to the Father.[92] But a glance at the Greek shows us the use of the imperative of the strong verb ἅπτω, which here may mean, Do not cling to me, as if Mary fell at his feet and in convulsion of fear and joy held him and would not let him go.

A third instance is found in Matthew's brief and disjointed expression, but some doubted.[93] We relate this to what is found in the addendum to Mark, where — more definite relation — a part of the apostles refused to believe some of their companions report of Christ's resurrection, and with the detailed and graphic description of the same fact in the doubt of the apostle Thomas.[94]

We have also in Mark a bare reference to what in Luke is very fully described, the walk to Emmaus.[95]

We will cite but one other instance. There is given in John's Gospel account of two meetings of Jesus with his disciples at Jerusalem.[96] Paul alone of the other witnesses writes of two meetings of Jesus with the eleven.[97]

These fragmentary details throw a very strong light upon the nature of the tradition of Christ's resurrection as it existed in the minds of the first generation of Christ's followers, and also of the way in which they who wrote the Gospels gathered and used their material; but more than all else it shows how utterly improbable it is that myth should enter to any extent into the construction of the Gospel stories. Had it so done these partial details must have revealed the falsehood; because truth and error are so related that "the more one examines a falsehood the more it falls apart, while the more one examines the truth the more closely it clings unto itself."

[91] Matt. xxviii. 9. [92] John xx. 17. [93] Matt. xxviii. 17. [94] Mark xvi. 13.
[95] Mark xvi. 12; Luke xxiv. 13–31. [96] John xx. 19, 26. [97] 1 Cor. xv. 5. 7.

G. M. Harmon.

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spread tradition dealing with certain great commonly accepted facts in a given period, and that a pretty wide one. There is very little difference in the tradition as we find it recorded in the most ancient of the Gospels, and that in the latest of all the Gospels. The same essential features are maintained throughout substantially unchanged. The conclusion, therefore, to which we are driven is that the elements of the Gospel narratives of Christ's resurrection are not mixed and heterogeneous, but have an organic unity with which the several details are vitally related.

So in speaking of the points of agreement we do little more than to summarize the results of our preceeding discussion. All our witnesses agree that Jesus died upon the cross, that his body was laid in a rocky tomb, on the third day the tomb was found empty, that Jesus was afterward seen by his disciples, not in any uncertain way but with visible, audible, and tangible evidences of his living and bodily presence, not indeed in an ordinary body but with appearances not usually found in a material body, and that finally he ascended from physical sight into a realm of glory.

After sifting all discrepancies from the accounts these points remain solid and unshaken, bound together by bonds of evidence so full, repeated, and continued that twenty centuries have put their trust in them to the help and comfort of uncounted millions.

In our discussion we have touched upon certain details in the narratives to which we recur as throwing light upon the relations which existed between the several forms of tradition embodied in the narratives.

The first is found in Matthew's notice of Christ's promise to be with his disciples always.[90] Matthew has given only the material aspects of Jesus' body; and if we had only his account we should think Jesus meant to dwell in that condition forever on the earth; but all at once associate this promise with the Christian doctrine of Christ's presence in the spirit. We have here two fragments of a vast living

[90] Matt. xxviii. 20.

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General Review.

Sunday Schools and Sunday School Lessons.

According to the latest estimates there are about 150,000 Protestant Sunday Schools meeting every Sunday in this country, most of them using the same lesson; nearly 1,300,000 teachers and officers, and about 10,000,000 scholars, indicating an increase of over forty per cent in the last twelve years; but there are still, it is said, about 11,000,000 to reach. The International Sunday-School Association, the organization that selects the lessons now in use known as the "International Lesson System," is seeking by means of State, county and township conventions to reach every locality in the South and West, — the sections of the Union most deficient in Sunday-Schools and most defective in Sunday-School methods, — to awaken interest and secure the adoption of more perfect plans.

Meanwhile the agitation and discussion of the "One Lesson System" continues, and much is said in its favor, and not a little against it. That system, elaborated by a committee consisting of fifteen of the leading clergymen and laymen of the various denominations in America, is so planned as to present the principal incidents and teachings of the Scriptures from beginning to end in seven years. Begun seventeen years ago it is now well on in its third series of seven years, some of the committee having served during the whole period, and many of them during the most of it. The recent session of the International Sunday-school Convention in Pittsburg, Pa., highly commended the committee's work, and enthusiastically voted to continue substantially the same committee and the same system of lessons for another period of seven years, or until the year 1900. While the Convention was unanimous that this system is the best possible one for universal use, the concession was made that other systems may be better adapted for some schools and classes. Out of this concession many substitutes for the International Lessons will probably be proposed, and one has already appeared in the October *Andover Review*, from the pen of Rev. Erastus Blakeslee. He gives the outline of "a year's Sunday-school lessons on the life of Jesus the Christ, in ten parts." Three other plans are also known to be in operation, besides independent courses used in various schools.

We do not write for the purpose of commending, endorsing, or in

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any way criticising any of these plans, but to call attention, as a mattor of information for Sunday-school workers, to the general criticisms on the International System which are suggesting and in some instances introducing changes.

It may be said that the Convention referred to above was wise in its endorsement of the System which it inaugurated and is encouraging. Its purpose is simple, natural, and not easily improved upon. Granting what all Christian Sunday-schools must claim, that the Bible should be understood by all, nothing seems better adapted to impart a knowledge of its contents to the young than "the selection of the more important incidents and teachings in the Bible, in the order in which they are there recorded, and in assigning them in turn as lessons for the successive Sundays." It has the advantage of being applicable anywhere, to schools of all sects, in all localities, and to pupils of all ages. To say, as do some of its critics, that it deals with some portions of Scripture which children do not need to study, or that some of the lessons can be explained, — and generally are so explained, — in opposition to our particular denominational dogmas, is to put ourselves and not the lessons, in a position for criticism and censure. Relatively, it is true, some parts of the Bible are more significant and important to us than others, but as a record of God's dealings with and leadings of the world, no portion is devoid of interest or incapable of yielding profitable instruction; and if the tenets of any sect are put in jeopardy by a study of any portion of Holy Writ, so much the worse for the tenets. The applicability of the International System to universal use is an argument in its favor that far outweighs all the adverse criticisms which it has received.

But the System of Uniform Lessons is not to be confounded with the Methods of Study which have grown up under it. Many of these are defective, and some of them, it is thought by many earnest Sunday-school workers, do not a little to defeat the object which the System has in view. Mr. Blakeslee, in the article to which we have referred, points out some of the most important of these defects. He puts them in the following order: First, the printing of the Lesson Text in the Lesson Helps. On the face of it, he says, this seems to be a most desirable thing; but practically it has set aside the study of the Bible itself, and has banished it from class use. Few if any bring their Bibles to the class, and a less number study them at home. And he adds that although many teachers urge their pupils to bring their Bibles to school with them, the scholars feel that the

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portion printed on the lesson slips is all that they have to do with and make no use of the Book itself. Thus one object sought by the System, — greater familiarity with the Bible, — is defeated by the method of using the system. A second defect mentioned is the detailed notes and comments which bury up the lesson-text, and those who study the lesson at all, both teachers and scholars, adopt the fashion of studying the notes instead of the text. Of course it is but right to expect that what may be thought on the lesson by scholars who are making the study of the Bible their life work, is of more importance, and more valuable than what the individual teacher or pupil may think, nevertheless it remains true that the most lasting knowledge is that which one gains for himself, and also that this superabundance of help is akin to the cramming process now so universally condemned in all other studies. "One is the method of taking one's opinions about the Bible at second hand; the other, the method of studying the Bible itself, and forming one's own opinions." Mr. Blakeslee also adds: "As the natural result of these elaborate notes in the quarterlies, the questions are made to conform thereto, so that the answer to almost every question is found in the quarterly itself. Children say they have no need to study the lesson because the answers are all in the book. If teachers ask the questions in the book, the scholars glance ahead and get the answers; if they do not ask the questions in the book, the scholars feel that there is no need of studying the lesson in the book, because the answers to the teachers questions are not there. I believe that one of the deepest reasons for the neglect of study so much mourned about in our Sunday-schools at the present time is found just here: almost everything being done for the scholars, they take no interest in doing anything for themselves."

While acknowledging that "it is much easier to criticise the existing system than to propose a better one," Mr. Blakeslee suggests two changes in the system of study: first, that "It should be comprehensive and connected outline study of the Bible, rather than minute study of disconnected incidents in it;" and second that "It should be *Christo-centric*, that is, it should in general treat all Scripture in its relation to the Christ." So he begins with the life of the Christ himself. His changes in method include large portions of Scripture, with notes few and short, the framing of questions which do not tell their own answer, but which lead the scholar to the discovery of the right answer, sending him directly to the Bible and to original

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thought on its contents. He would also have the scholar make some of his answers in writing. There may be advantages in such a plan, but we do not see how, in preparation for it, should it come into general use, the redundancy of helps would be diminished. Each sect would enlarge and multiply notes and comments, and soon the defects complained of in the present system would be as glaringly manifest in the new.

That some modifications of the present system may be made to advantage, we do not question, but on the whole it is right in principle. That methods of study may be improved upon none are more keen to see than are those who now give their time and talent to suggesting and outlining those methods. Our own *Helper* Method avoids some of the defects which inhere in other helps. Its questions certainly send the scholar to the text for his answer. If other questions could be mingled with these which should necessitate a reference to the Bible itself, a desirable search of its pages might be inaugurated. But an entire absence from the lesson sheet of the Scripture immediately under consideration, would, for the average scholar and the home in which he must make his preparation, — especially in the home where Sunday-school instruction is a substitute for parental training, which is perhaps the greatest hindrance to interestedness in Bible study, — be to invite greater neglect than its presence there can possibly encourage. We must not forget that this whole method of teaching the entire school one lesson is yet in its infancy, and so be patient with imperfections, making our criticisms of defects suggestive also of improvements, assured that none are more eager to perfect the system than are those who are charged with the preparation of the needed helps.

The Cities Of the Plain.

The locality of the destroyed cities of the Plain has never been definitely determined. Various opinions have prevailed, but none have been wholly satisfactory. Josephus and many others, including Lieut. Lynch, have contended for the region south of the Dead Sea; while the region to the north of that Sea has been strongly advocated by Grove, Tristram, Thompson and others, and seems to be favored by the narrative in Genesis. In a brief Article in the *Biblia* for August, it is stated that Selah Merrill, LL. D., who resided in the Holy Land seven years, first as archæologist of the American Pales-

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tine Exploration Society, and afterwards for more than four years as United States Consul at Jerusalem, has given a new reading respecting the location of Sodom and Gomorrah, which, he thinks, proves that they were at the northern end of the Dead Sea. His reasons are:

1. The tradition that these cities were submerged and their sites obliterated is not warranted by the Bible. 2. It is now established by geologists that the surface of the Dead Sea was never less, but was formerly much greater, in extent, than it is at present. Only a very small portion of the region at the southern end of the sea is habitable, while the greater portion of the plain at the northern end is very fertile, and has been occupied by cities from the time of Moses at least. 3. The catastrophe took place about five centuries before the time of Moses and Joshua, and in their time we find on this plain a Beth-Jeshemoth, or house of desolation, which name it seems probable preserved the impression produced upon the popular mind by the great event. The site of this place still exists, and its present Arabic name, 'Suweimeh,' corresponds exactly in its signification to the Hebrew tradition. If this name is regarded as significant of the character of the place, then it is far from being appropriate; hence there is all the more reason for supposing that the meaning of this word has reference to an ancient catastrophe which brought destruction, and, in a certain sense, desolation upon that region. 4. If this is the site of Sodom, some place must be found very near it, also in the plain but nearer the mountains, to which Lot could flee between dawn and sunrise. Such a place appears in Tel Ektanu. Says Mr. Merrill: 'It should be remembered that because certain wicked cities were once destroyed by fire, it does not follow that their sites or the region about them became uninhabitable, any more than such a result followed in the case of the Chicago or Boston fires. The sites remained and were afterwards built upon, and have ever since been occupied by cities or ruins.'

However, says the editor of *Biblia*, this article was written to show a parallel to the Genesis history of the destruction of the cities of the plains. The inscription that follows, translated by the Rev. A. H. Sayce from a tablet on which it is found both in Accadian and Assyrian, presents a degree of parallelism with the history of Genesis xix, sufficient to excite interest and curiosity. The translation is from *Records of the Past*, xi: 117.

'An overthrow from the midst of the deep there came,
The fated punishment from the midst of heaven descended,
A storm like a plummet the earth (overwhelmed).
To the four winds the destroying flood like fire did burst,
The inhabitants of the cities it had caused to be tormented; their bodies it consumed.
In city and country it spread death, and the flames, as they rose, overthrew;
Freeman and slave were equal, and the high places it filled.
In heaven and earth like a thunderstorm it had rained; a prey it made.
A place of refuge the gods hastened to, and in a throng collected.

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Its mighty (onset) they fled from, and, like a garment, it concealed mankind.
They (feared) and death (overtook them),
Their feet and hands (it embraced).
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Their body it consumed,
. . . . .the city its foundations it defiled,
. . . . .in breath, his mouth he filled.
As for this man, a loud voice was raised; the mighty lightning flash descended.
During the day it flashed; grievously it fell.

It may be hoped that some day the remainder of the fragment may be discovered and interpreted. In the 'man' who appears so abruptly in the last line but one, Mr. Sayce finds a possible counterpart of Lot. He suggests, with some probability, that the expedition of Chedorlaomer, though it returned unsuccessful before the destruction, must have made the people of Assyria and Babylon interested in the cities which they had conquered. Tidings of the overthrow would naturally be carried from the Jordan to the Euphrates by the traveling companies of Midianites and other traders.

Contemporary Literature.

Unto the Uttermost. By James M. Campbell. New York. Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1889. 16mo., pp. 254. $1.25.

This is in many respects a very remarkable book. It breathes a hope for the salvation of all; argues that man forever remains a moral being, capable of repentance, change of purpose, and so of salvation; repudiates as illogical and absurd, as opposed to the uttermost reach of Christ's saving power, that such permanence of character can be obtained by man as to make salvation impossible, and yet lifts its wail of despair over souls forever lost.

"Beyond his [Christ's] saving power," Mr. Campbell says, "no soul can sink. There is no case too desperate for him to undertake; there is no case ever turned away, pronounced by him incurable. For the healing of the most diseased, for the uplifting of the most degraded, the power of his atonement is abundantly, yea, superabundantly, adequate. He is mighty, yea, almighty, to save. 'He is able to save *unto the uttermost* all that come unto God by him.' With the talismanic word *uttermost*, which stretches beyond all human limitations of the divine mercy, the vilest sinner may repel every temptation to despair. Placing that word upon the homiletical anvil, William Jay fashions out of it the six-linked chain of gospel truth that Christ is 'able to save to the uttermost limits of time; to the uttermost period of life; to the uttermost depth of depravity; to the

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uttermost depth of misery; and to the uttermost measure of perfection.' Christ's uttermost of redemption out-reaches man's uttermost of need. With an ample ransom provided, none need go down to the pit. With sufficiency of redeeming grace encompassing every life, hell is in no case a necessity, but is always and forever a choice. Popular preaching delights in exalting the saving power of Christ. Spurgeon, in a passing sermon, gives the following: 'If you are so far gone that there seems to be not even a ghost of a shade of a shadow of a hope anywhere about you, yet if you believe in Jesus you shall live. Trust in the Lord Jesus Christ, for he is worthy to be trusted. Throw yourself upon him and he will carry you in his bosom. Cast your whole weight upon his atonement; it will bear the strain.' All this is as true as it is forcible; but it will not do for the preacher of the gospel with one breath to say that Christ can save to the uttermost, and with the next breath to affirm that man may reach a point in perversity in wickedness which places him below the line of help and hope. Consistency there is none in affirming that the strong arm of Christ can deliver those who have sunk the deepest in the mire of iniquity, and at the same time affirming that character can become so fixed and stereotyped that, even with the power of Christ taken into account, change is impossible. If the one position be maintained, the other must be surrendered. The two positions are logically irreconciliable" (pp. 10–12).

Elsewhere, insisting that "Possibility of moral change is inseparable from moral character," he adds: "If power to repent and obey God be taken away, repentance and righteousness cease to be duties, and all blameworthiness for their absence is completely cancelled. Unless man should cease to be what he now is—a moral being, some measure of moral power must be continued to him forever, together with some measure of opportunity for the exercise of that power. If, in this world, or in any other world, moral power and opportunity be utterly lost, moral identity is lost; the sense of duty, which is always present in a moral nature, is destroyed, yea, the moral nature itself is blotted out" (p. 168).

And yet, after all this plain and forcible statement, he involves himself in the inconsistency which he condemns, the absurdity which he rebukes. "Sometimes," he says, there comes over the soul a moral inertia which is a harder foe to overcome than the most turbulent passion. Decay of will, decay of moral virility—the penalty of indulgence and inaction—brings on a condition of passive despair, from which there is no sudden rebound. Habitual surrendering to evil gradually weakens the strength of will, until that state of extreme impotence is reached when resolutions are still-born, and the soul, a discrowned king, sits amid the ruin of his former greatness, issuing empty mandates. With constantly increasing indisposition to action, with the certainty that every awakened impulse, if not carried out, will leave the soul weaker than before; that the power of self-action still remaining, if not put into exercise, will decline yet more and

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more—how momentous is the present choice! And besides the danger arising from the gradual loss and final collapse of spiritual power, there is the additional danger of the closing in of the prison walls of the earth-life, until no place is left for moral reform. A place for repentance, wide and roomy, is afforded now and here, which is not afforded then and yonder. A place for repentance is found at the mercy-seat which is not found at the judgment-seat. When the present day of grace has been sinned away, tears of blood will not recover the birth-right which has been lost. It will then be forever beyond the grasp of those who have bartered it away for the world's pelf and pleasure. . . . There are dead hopes for which there is no resurrection. There is a repentance which flies with weary wing over wide wastes of water without finding a blessed ark of rest. Like a foot-sore and fainting traveller who has been turned away from an inn in which there was no room for him, the Soul that has bartered away the sacred birthright of a redeemed manhood may wander on in 'the blackness of darkness,' finding that doors of opportunity which once stood open wide are now forever closed" (pp. 224–226). Could contradiction be more glaring and complete?

American Statesmen. John Jay. By George Pellew. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston and New York. 1890. 16mo., pp. vi, 374. $1.25.

As a just and instructive record of the career of one of the earliest, most devoted, and influential American Statesmen, this volume is second in importance to none which have preceded it in this series. Few Leaders in National Affairs have, owing to prejudice and ignorance, been more misjudged while living, or written about when dead with greater unfair bias than fell to the lot of John Jay. Not unmindful of the valuable services rendered to us by France during our struggle for independence, Jay put himself in common with the Federalists, in opposition to the craze begotten by the French Revolution, and was for long years the victim of unreasoning prejudice. Antagonisms which never existed were attributed to him, especially in his relations to Franklin during the negotiations of the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and America, and the charge concerning these has been repeated down to the present day by Sparks, Bancroft, and Lodge. Mr. Pellew shows how unfounded these are, and what light is thrown upon the true state of the questions involved in that negotiation and the perfect unanimity of opinion among the Commissioners, by official documents brought to light recently, and by the letters and words and acts of Franklin himself. And it is certain that history justifies the shrewdness of Jay in detecting the motive of the French influences which he so bravely withstood in his independence of the instructions given him by those who, he was confident, did not, and from the nature of the case, could not, give that unbiassed estimate of the facts as they were clearly seen by himself;—an independence which he convinced Franklin was as justifiable as it was necessary. Gratitude to the French for substantial aid rendered us in our struggle

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did not blind him to a view of the wheel within wheel of the motive of our allies, their great hatred of England, and their chief desire to break her power. It is now apparent to every one who reads the history of the times, but when Jay saw and acted upon it he stood nearly alone and was misrepresented, misjudged and hated.

Like many others who became, as events progressed, zealous and sacrificing in order to obtain the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain, Jay was at the outset a zealous loyalist, and was selected by the first Continental Congress to frame an address to the people of Great Britain,—"a production of the finest pen in America," said Jefferson. Subsequently, as events demonstrated the implacable disposition of Parliament, he was determined and persistent in his efforts for Independence. Offices of the highest importance and responsibility were thrust upon him both in his State and by Congress, to the discharge of the duties of all of which he brought to bear consummate ability and inflexible integrity. His opinions as a Federalist defeated his election to the Convention which drafted the Constitution of the United States, but he rendered great service to that necessary work by his Articles in the "Federalist," and to him more than to any other belongs the credit of securing the ratification of the adoption of the Constitution by the State of New York, despite great and unscrupulous opposition.

On the organization of the General Government, President Washington offered him his choice of the Federal offices, and he chose the Chief Justiceship. When, in the spring of 1794, Washington, in order to avert war with Great Britain, by an adjustment of boundaries and the conclusion of a commercial treaty, fixed upon the Chief Justice as the man of all others to undertake such a work, Jay was not for a moment misled as to the effect which such an undertaking, however it might result, would have on his political fortune. "Such were the prejudices of the American people," he said, "that no man could form a treaty with Great Britain, however advantageous it might be to the country, who would not by his agency render himself so unpopular and odious as to blast all hope of political preferment." Nevertheless he felt it to be his duty to his country to accept the post of duty. A storm of cruel opprobrium and hate broke upon him from the anti-federalists when the work was concluded, and he was declared to have sold his country to the English. But what the English thought of it after it went into operation, was tersely expressed by Lord Sheffield, when he said at the breaking out of the war of 1812: "We have now an opportunity of getting rid of that most impolitic treaty of 1794, when Lord Grenville was so perfectly duped by Jay." That one of Jay's unscrupulous opponents at home was Aaron Burr may have been no little satisfaction to those who had the good of the country at heart. The glamour which has surrounded many of the actors in our Revolution disappears as we learn to discriminate between the useful and brave and true, and the merely noisy politicians of the hour. Thirty years after Indepen-

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dence was secured, "Gouverneur Morris was sitting over the polished mahogany at Bedford with John Jay, when he suddenly ejaculated through clouds of smoke, 'Jay, what a set of d — d scoundrels we had in that second Congress.' 'Yes,' said Jay, 'that we had,' and he knocked the ashes from his pipe." But all the brighter, because of such surroundings, shines the glory of the men who were noble and true. And conspicuous in this company of worthies was the subject of the volume before us, concerning whom Chief Justice Jones said at the opening of the session of the Superior Court of New York, just after Jay's decease: "Few men in any country, perhaps scarce one in this, have filled a larger space, and few ever passed through life with such perfect purity, integrity, and honour."

A Hand-Book of English Versions of the Bible. with copious examples illustrating the ancestry and relationship of the several versions, and comparative tables, by J. I. Mombert, D.D. Second edition. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1890. 12mo., pp. xxi, 509. $1.50.

Of all the books called out by the discussions and researches incident to the recent Anglo-American revision of the Scriptures, Dr. Mombert's best succeeds in putting much in small space; and by erudition, and arrangement of matter, makes the most valuable addition to the literature of the Subject. It is a compact but complete history of the various attempts which have been made to put the whole Bible or parts of it into the English language, with a plain statement of facts with regard to the several translators, the material they worked upon, and the comparative value of the results obtained. Of course, so numerous have been the translations put before the public, that some of them receive only general mention, but the most important examined in detail are those of Wyclif, Tyndale, Coverdale, the so-called Matthew's Bible, Taverner's, the "Great" Bible, the Genevan, the Bishop's, the Douay, the Rhemes Testament, and the translation dedicated to King James. Dr. Mombert points out the authorities employed in each instance, to what extent the labors of preceding translators were made available, and what special impression was made on King James' version by any or all that went before it.

Portions of the Bible were rendered into English before Wyclife's day, but to him evidently belongs the honor of putting the entire collection into English. Its need at that time is shown by contemporary testimony of the extreme scarcity even of Latin versions. This may also be said to have been the first translation published, i. e. copied by transcribers, in any considerable numbers. Some of Wyclif's English has never been improved on, and such phrases as the following come down to us from him: "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way;" "A living sacrifice;" "The deep things of God." The invention of printing, and the issue from the press of the Hebrew Bible, in 1488, and the Greek Testament in 1516, incited William Tyndale to attempt a translation, not as Wyclife had done, from the Latin, but from the original tongues. In 1520 he

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made a boast to a Catholic priest, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than you do." The earliest edition of his complete work was printed about 1526. In 1535, while imprisoned at Vilvorde, where he died at the stake a year later, he prepared an edition for the instruction of the plough-boys of England, "conforming the spelling to their rude pronunciation, and furnishing for their better understanding of the subjects treated of, for the first time, headings to the chapters." Coverdale's work was eclectic. Much of the Old Testament and the whole of the New is shown to have been borrowed from Tyndale, with revision based on Luther and the Zurich version. As editor of the so-called Great Bible (Cranmer's), Coverdale furnishes the Psalter used in the Book of Common Prayer, which, though smoother for singing, lacks in the vigor and force distinguishing Wycklif's English as beautified and finished by Tyndale. The Genevan Bible, the work of English scholars who fled from the persecuting reign of Mary, was in point of scholarship superior to any that had preceded it. More than 130 editions were published, and it was printed as late as 1644. But it was so tinged with Calvinistic tendencies, that on the accession of Elizabeth, a new translation was demanded, resulting in the production of what is called "The Bishop's Bible," projected by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker. Meanwhile the Rhemes Testament, and the Douay Bible — Roman Catholic translations, — appeared. Of their value, Dr. Mombert says: "The rather lofty pretensions of the Douay revisers as to the sincerity, purity and fidelity of their version cannot stand the test of comparison with the best, that is the purest Latin text made by Jerome from the Hebrew direct, for the Psalter is made from his revision of the faulty Latin translation made from the Septuagint; it is therefore in reality a faithful translation of the revision of a bad Latin version, made from the Greek translation of the Hebrew original. The best Latin text did not form part of the vulgate from which the Douay Bible is translated. This is quite sufficient to explain the positively unintelligible English of the unintelligible Latin versions, of a very uncertain Greek translation of the Hebrew."

The "Authorized Version," erroneously so-called, for it never was authorized, receives much attention from Dr. Mombert, and its excellencies and defects are impartially stated. Among other things it is shown to be a great treasure-house of Saxon, Dr. Mombert giving the following comparison: "Gibbon uses about seventy, Johnson about seventy-five, Swift eighty-nine, Shakespeare about eighty-five, and the Authorized Version more than ninety Saxon words in every hundred employed. The Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew contains, besides *Amen*, sixty-five words, of which fifty-nine are Saxon, and six Latin, and the first thirty-five are altogether Saxon."

As only the New Testament portion of the Revised Version had appeared when Dr. Mombert's book went to press, not much is said

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of this work, but what is said is discriminating and in the main in its praise and of the manner in which it was done. The price of the book puts it in the reach of every minister, and all who preach the word will be profited by its perusal.

The Poetry of Job. By George H. Gilbert, Ph. D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in the Chicago Theological Seminary. Chicago. A. C. McClurg & Co. 1889. 16mo., pp. 224. $1.00.

The aim of Prof. Gilbert is two-fold: to make the spiritual lesson of the book of Job clearer and more apparent to the reader, and to call attention to the surpassing beauty of the author's work in delineating nature and revealing God. In some particulars Prof. Gilbert's translation quite reverses the meaning conveyed by both the authorized and the revised versions, but it "has been adopted," he tells us, "only after repeated and careful examination of all the philological evidence, and only after a repeated and careful examination of each detail in the light of the manifest aim and thought of the poem as a whole." In relation to the form of the translation these three remarks are made:

"First, the translation is rythmical, or, at least, constantly aims to be. Not metrical, for all that is claimed for the original is a carefully preserved rythm. It is a mistake, I think, to endeavor to render the poem into metrical verse; but any translation of it that aims at perfection must be rythmical. As we are not satisfied with a prose translation of the Faust or the Divine Comedy, so we should not be satisfied with a prose translation of Job.

"Second, this translation aims to give the particular rythmical movement of the original. The Hebrew lines in Job generally have three tones, the only important exceptions being the two-toned and the four-toned lines, about fifty-nine of the former and eighty-five of the latter. The number of syllables belonging to the sphere of a single tone varies constantly, producing what would be designated, according to our canons of meter, a mingling of iambic, trochaic, dactylic, and anapestic feet, but the rythm is not often disturbed by this freedom. The present translation avails itself of the same liberty that is found in the original. The three-toned Hebrew lines have been rendered into three-toned English lines, and the rythm of the two-toned and four-toned lines also has been preserved. As an example of three-toned lines, we may take this:

> 'The wicked have ceased there from troubling,
> And there are the weary at rest.'
>
> —*Chap.* iii. 17.

Examples of the four-toned and two-toned lines are the following

> 'The wicked man is in pain all his days,
> And the sum of the years reserved for the tyrant.'
>
> *Chap.* xv. 20.

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'My spirit is broken,
My days are extinct,
The grave-yard is mine.'
—*Chap.* xvii. 1,

Where it was not possible to give the thought of the original closely, and at the same time secure a flowing rythm, the rythm has been sacrificed to the thought. But I trust this has not often been found necessary.

"Third, no attempt has been made to divide the poem into stanzas, inasmuch as it still seems very doubtful whether a regular strophical arrangement belonged to the original. The names of God have been transliterated or translated, according to the requirements of the English line; a freedom which, in poetry at least, should need no apology."

Following the Preface, is the translation of the Book arranged as the Prologue, First, Second and Third Cycles of the Poem, and the Epilogue. Then follows the "Interpretation of the Poem," divided into chapters on I. A brief Analysis of Job; II. Nature in the Poem; III. The Animal Kingdom in the Poem; IV. Human Life in the Poem; V. The Poet's Conception of God. The controverted passage, *Chap.* XIX. 25–27, is thus rendered by Prof. Gilbert:

"But I know my Redeemer doth live,
And later shall rise o'er the dust.
Then after my skin, thus beat off,
And free from my flesh. I'll see God;
Whom I for myself shall see,
And mine eyes behold, and no stranger."

Job's description of the war-horse, which, according to the judgment of Herder, "is perhaps the noblest ever produced," is thus rendered:

"Canst thou give to the charger strength?
Canst thou mantle his neck with trembling?
Canst thou cause him to leap as a locust?
A dread is his neighing majestic.
He stamps in the valley, and joys in his might;
To meet the armed host he goes forth.
He laugheth at fear unamazed,
And turneth not back from the sword.
Upon him the quiver doth rattle,
The glittering lance and spear.
With stamping and anger he swallows the earth,
And stays not when soundeth the trumpet.
He saith when it soundeth, Aha!
And from far he scenteth the battle,
The princes' shout and the war-cry."
—*Chap.* xxix. 19–25.

The student of the Bible will find this volume helpful in many ways. It will enable him to admire and better understand what Carlyle truly said was "a marvelous life-like drama, only to be appreciated when read right through."

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The Master of the Magicians. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and Herbert D. Ward. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 16mo., pp. 324. $1.25.

This is a story of Babylon, under Nebuchadrezzar, and in the days of Daniel the Prophet; — a time of great heathen prosperity and splendor, intellectual vigor among the professional scholars, and startling moral corruption in high places and in low. Riches, luxury, wonderful displays of art, slavery, despotism, absolute and arbitrary monarchical government, characterized the age. Fidelity in delineating these is a marked feature of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward and her husband, Herbert Ward. Her well earned popularity as a writer of romance is everywhere acknowledged. His reputation is yet to be made. Just his part in the book before us it is hard to determine. It is enough to say that against the background of above intimated outline of historic fact they have produced a novel of wonderful color and power, the narrative of which the reader follows with unflagging and intense interest.

Mutusa-ili, a learned man of Jewish descent, a renowned Astrologer, and head of the great educational institution; Lalitha, his beautiful, spiritual, fascinating and pure daughter; Queen Amytis, a Median, haughty, beautiful, sensual; Allit, the King's great Captain, capable of every extreme of passion; and Daniel, the incorruptible, who serves with strict loyalty the Lord Jehovah, are, with Nebuchadrezza, the principal characters in this grand romance. The style of composition, as befits the age and the characters, is a modernized Orientalism and is well sustained both in description and in plot, being flexible and resonant, vigorous, crisp and effective. Sometimes, as in the following passage, the sentences are choppy and inelegant, as though the effort at condensation had been overdone, but ordinarily they are smooth and beautiful. "The king was particularly morose and cross. Nothing went to suit him. Allit trembled lest his task should not be done. The captain was very uncomfortable this morning." A love adventure runs through the pages, ending, probably not just as the reader will have desired, as he has followed its course, and yet as seemed inevitable from the climax of events which hastened it. The publishers, with their uniform good taste have put the book into appropriate binding, pleasant to the eye, and suggestive of the age which the volume describes.

Why Not, and Why. Short and Plain Studies for the Busy. By Rev. William Dudley Powers. New York. D: Appleton & Co. 1890. Paper, 16mo,, pp. 127.

This is evidently the work of a young priest, whose zeal for Institutionalism leads him to fulsome laudation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and to a criticism of the Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, etc., as unjustifiable Christian organizations. It is, in short, an attempt, in a few pages, to prove an exclusive claim to the ecclesiastical organization with which he is connected to be *The Church*, which more elaborate and numerous volumes have failed to

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establish, until at last, the ridiculousness of such an effort is as apparent to Episcopalians as it is to others. His plea for the "Visible Church" is one which can only be consistently made, on historic grounds, by the Latin Church, into whose hands he has put a weapon which it can effectually turn against him. His own ecclesiastical pedigree from "the Apostle St. James," with "separate lines of descent from St. John, ... St. Peter, and St. Paul and the Church of Rome," is laughable to outsiders, and most laughable in that it is put forth with seriousness as indicating his right to preach! The Bishop of Manchester, England, has recently sounded an alarm against the pernicious influence of such pretensions; and Canon Freemantle in his Bampton Lecture, speaks of it as a tendency which "is not really one which exalts the Church. It exalts the clergy alone; it dwarfs and emasculates the Church." Such pretensions are as foreign to the Protestant mind as they are offensive to Common Sense. In the light of Hooker's stout argument that neither Puritan nor Romanist could find any fixed definite form of Church polity revealed in the Scriptures, Mr. Powers' ground of opposition to Protestant denominations — one of which, at least, owes its origin to the deadness and irreligion of this pretentious Episcopacy, — is the climax of absurdity.

English Lands, Letters and Kings from Elizabeth to Anne. By Donald G. Mitchell. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890. 12mo., pp. ix., 347. $1.50.

The author of "Dream Life," and "Reveries of a Bachelor," retains in his writings in later years the same charming style which made those first fruits of his pen so attractive and enchanting. The book before us is a second volume of most delightful studies in English literature written to quicken appetite for the fuller and larger works which give in detail what he has so finely epitomized. It is a simply told and sympathetic series of sketches of letters, rulers, city and country places, which cannot fail to captivate the reader who has little knowledge of them from any other source, as also to interest and in some cases give kindly surprise to those who are well-read in such specialities. Narrative rather than criticism, it is not without some sharp yet kindly thrusts at follies and foibles, cheery gossip on the trivial things which took up so much of the time and attention of clever men and women, and sly puncture of inflated, bombastic and exceedingly weak things of past times, some of which have been carried over to the present. Masson's "Life and Times of Milton," for example, is tersely and justly characterized as those "Six fat volumes of big octavo, in the which the pith and kernel about Milton, the man, floats around like force meat-balls in a great sea of historic soup." Equally terse and true is this said of Samuel Butler, author of "Hudibras," "His name is to be remembered as that of one of the noticeable men of this epoch, who wrote a poem bristling all through with coarse wit, and whose memory is kept alive more by the

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stinging couplets which have passed from his pen into common speech than by any high literary merit or true poetic savor." And a very fashionable craze of our day is handsomely laughed at in what he says of "Queen Anne, who through no special virtues of her own, gave a name to a great epoch in English history, and in these latter days has given a name to very much architecture and furniture and crockery, which have as little to do with her as they have with our King Benjamin of Washington." We commend the volume to those who can snatch an hour or so from busy care to devote to profitable reading, as also to those who love to spend their time among good books. The volume is a model of good form, press-work and binding.

Harvard Graduates whom I have known. By Andrew Preston Peabody D.D., LL. D. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 12mo., pp. 225. $1.25.

Dr. Peabody here gives in the felicity of utterance which characterizes all his work, graphic reminiscences of Joshua Fisher, Nathan Dane, John Pierce, John Pickering, William Wells, William Jenks, Daniel Appleton White, Charles Lowell, Ichabod Nichols, James Walker, Jared Sparks, Samuel Atkins Eliot, George Barrell Emerson, Stephen Salisbury, Nathaniel Wood, Nathaniel Silsbee, Cazneu Palfrey, Samuel Hurd Walley, Stephen Minot Weld, and Increase Sumner Wheeler, men of distinction, who "were either benefactors of the College, or members of one or more of its boards of government or instruction." In an Appendix he adds brief Sketches of the first two Presidents of the College, Henry Dunster, and Charles Chauncy. The marked individualities of these several persons are distinctly brought out, and many interesting facts relating to College life in former times are related. Under President Dunster "the bills of the students were paid in commodities, not infrequently in edibles of so perishable a character that payment would have been availing only in full term time, and a thrifty housewife would have been the most suitable treasurer." During the later part of the last century, such were the facilities afforded the students for obtaining "wine and stronger drinks" from the "College Buttery," that "At least one fourth of every class became sots." "The chapel service," says Dr. Peabody, "was made in those days the occasion for the transaction and promulgation of not a few affairs very remotely connected with the religious solemnities. Not far from this time, the students having complained of a keg of rancid butter, the Faculty appointed a tasting committee; and in consequence of their report, the President was authorized to announce at morning prayers that the objectionable butter would be used 'only for sauce.'" Judge White, who was in College at this time, "reckons his strictly college expenses (including board) for the four years at four hundred and eighty dollars," and the entire cost, "including clothes, books, traveling expenses, pocket money, etc., at eight hundred dollars." The biographical sketches are brief, making the book a handy one for the

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busy man to take up for a few moments reading. It cannot fail to interest College men.

Russia: Its People and its Literature. By Emilia Pardo Bazán. Translated from the Spanish, by Fanny Hale Gardiner. Chicago. A. C. McClurg & Co. 1890. 16mo., pp. 293. $1.25.

The laws and customs of Russia are attracting very general interest at the present time; and the literature of the nation, unique in its characteristics, like the civilization from which it springs, is eagerly sought and studied as disclosing the barbarism and cruelty of the government, the deprivations and unrest of the people. The book before us is a critical study of this great subject, and is the translation, by a competent hand, of a Course of Lectures given before the Spanish Athenæum, at Madrid, by a distinguished Spanish lady, who, in spite of the great disadvantage of ignorance of the Russian language, has made herself thoroughly familiar with her theme. Her style is attractive, and her analytical powers are acute and effective. Of the novelists, psychologists, and visionaries, whose writings make the distinctive literature of the country, she gives interesting biographical sketches, disclosing their personal characteristics, education, peculiarities of style and the animus of their literary efforts. Puchkine, Gogol, Turguenief, Dostoiewsky, Tolstoi, and many lesser lights receive such notice as gives the reader a fair apprehension of their works and their power. The information in regard to Tolstoi is especially interesting. His definition of a Nihilist as one who is "not merely a revolutionary socialist, but a man who believes in nothing whatever," startles one; and his social ideal, now that he has become a professed Christian, is anything but encouraging to those who anticipate that his theories will influence others. The author thus describes it: "Tolstoi's social ideal is, not to lift up and instruct the ignorant, nor even to suppress pauperism, but to create a state entirely composed of the poor, to annihilate wealth, luxury, the arts, all delicacy and refinement of custom, and lastly — the lips almost refuse to utter it — even cleanliness and care of the body. Yes, cleanliness and instruction, to wash and to learn, are, in Tolstoi's eyes, great sins, the cause of separation and estrangement among mankind." This is disgustingly erratic, and let us hope that it will not do much proselyting. The world is dirty enough without any special exhortation to untidiness. The publishers have put the work into handsome form, and the reader seeking information concerning Russia and the Russians will here find that which is reliable and interesting.

The Salt-Cellars. Being a Collection of Proverbs, together with Homely Notes thereon. By C. H. Spurgeon. A--L. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1889. 12mo., pp. viii., 334. $1 50.

In the QUARTERLY for July we called attention to the second volume of this work, giving a few examples of its contents. In the volume before us, Mr. Spurgeon gives the reason for the existence of the

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book, in these words: "For many years I have published a sheet Almanack, intended to be hung up in workshops and kitchens. This has been known as 'John Ploughman's Almanack,' and has had a large sale. It has promoted temperance, thrift, kindness to animals, and a regard for religion, among working people. The placing of a proverb for every day for twenty years has cost me great labour, and I feel that I cannot afford to lose the large collection of sentences which I have thus brought together; yet lost they would be, if left to die with the ephemeral sheet. Hence these two volumes. They do not profess to be a complete collection of proverbs, but only a few out of many thousands." These proverbs have been gleaned from many sources, and while they are not all equally good, a large number of them are very valuable. We give a few specimens, with Mr. Spurgeon's added comments:

"Every Man is a volume, if you know how to read him.

"Some seem like Hebrew, which needs to be taken backwards; and many are in too small print to be read at all. In all we find errata, and in some a sheet left out; but there's something to be learned from all; although some men are such books as Charles Lamb spoke of — 'things in book's clothing,' not much above the level of draught-boards bound and lettered on the back."

"Hem your blessings with praise, lest they unravel.

"A notable piece of advice. Doubtless our enjoyments become a danger unless we humbly trace them to the hand of God, and gratefully praise his name for them."

"It's 'Hobson's Choice' — the next or none.

"Hobson, the carrier of Cambridge, let out horses to the young collegians, and he would have the horses go out in turns. When a young gentleman wanted to take another horse than the one whose turn it was, the old carrier would answer, 'This, or none.' For many people, it would be a great blessing if they had a *Hobson* to choose for them, for they do not know their own minds."

Preachers will find "The Salt-Cellars" suggestive of many terse ways of saying things.

Jesus of Nazareth. I. His Personal Character. II. His Ethical Teachings. III. His Supernatural Works. Three Lectures before the Y. M. C. A. of John Hopkins University, in Levering Hall. By John A. Broadus, D.D., LL. D., President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1890. Crown 8mo., pp. 105, 75 cents.

Dr. Broadus is one of the strong men in the Protestant Church, — a clear thinker and a plain and forcible writer. In the Lectures betore us, given to young men, he has said things of the highest imporfance to all, but of especial interest to the class particularly addressed. Where all is so excellent it is difficult to make a comparison of the

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different parts, but we confess to especial admiration of the manner in which the theme of the last lecture is presented. Standing on common ground with the so-called "advanced thinking" of the day, — the concession of the genuineness of the Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians and the Romans, the first of which was written at the most but twenty-seven years after the crucifixion of Christ, — Dr. Broadus shows conclusively that Paul argues for the supernatural origin of the Gospel, and that his statements of fact are in full accord with the testimony of the writings of the Evangelists. The argument is unanswerable, no matter what hypothesis may be arrayed against it; Christian doctrines are more than a philosophy, they are a revelation from God. Equally pertinent, it seems to us, is the argument in the lecture on the Ethical Teachings of Jesus, against the now common notion that the requirements of Jesus and the practice of the Apostles and the early Church are in any sense Communistic. The argument is also strong and valid that no violence is done to Human Nature by Christ's teachings and demands, but that his instructions are brought into close connection with what men "instinctively recognize as true when suggested by his lessons." Readers of the QUARTERLY will find much that is suggestive and helpful in this volume.

Brushes and Chisels. A Story by Teodoro Serrao. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard. 16mo., pp. 213. $1.00.

This is a graphic picture of the characteristics of artist life in Rome; a theme always peculiarly attractive to cultured people, and now since art is so important a part of our common-school education, rapidly gaining a large class of admirers. There is a uniqueness and romance in it that is always fascinating, and generally its accessories are favorable to tragic or passionate fortunes. In the book before us a love-story with sad ending furnishes the peculiarly attractive coloring, touching the common springs of our human life, and giving an interest to the story which will make it acceptable even to the reader who has no appreciation nor care for Art. The author handles his characters in a masterly manner, and works up his plot with grand effect. The publishers have put the work into good form and clothed it with dainty and tasty binding.

Edward Burton. By Henry Wood, Author of Natural Law in the Business World, etc. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard. 12mo., pp. 299. $1.25.

In a different field from that in which he achieved great success as author of "Natural Law in the Business World," Mr. Wood here does excellent work and wins deserved praise. In plot, characterization, sustained interest, skill and power and climax, Mr. Wood, in the Story of Edward Burton, takes high rank as a Novelist. His motive is not disguised, his aim is lofty, and the reader is helped, as he progresses in the perusal, to see and admire the working of that Divine Law in the social and moral world which alone makes life worth living, induces patient waiting, justifies and exalts hope, and

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incites to fidelity and constant effort for that which is approved of God and beneficent to men. The characters which play their parts in this interesting story represent the varied phases of good and bad principles; the scenes are those of affluence and also of want, successes and failures. The theological doctrines which are illustrated as to their practical influence in directing and comforting human lives, are liberal and truly Christian. The book is wholesome in spirit, and will interest those who procure it.

Heroes and Martyrs of Invention. By George Makepeace Towle. Boston. Lee & Shepard. 1890. 16mo. $1.00.

Mr. Towle is an exceedingly interesting writer for young people, and in this book has produced that which will both instruct and entertain. The contents are, first, a chapter on Early Inventors, and then chapters on Lawrence Coster, the Discoverer of Type-Printing; John Gutenberg, the Inventor of the Printing-Press; Palissy the Potter; William Lee, the Inventor of the Stocking-Frame; the Builders of the Eddystone; the Inventors of Cotton Machinery; James Watt, the Inventor of the Steam Engine; the Montgolfiers and the Balloon; Humphrey Davy and the Safety-Lamp; James Nasmyth and the Steam-Hammer; George Stephenson, the Inventor of the Railway Locomotive; Robert Stephenson, the great Bridge Builder; Robert Fulton and the Steamboat; The Struggles of Charles Goodyear; Elias Howe and the Sewing Machine; Iron and its Workers. There are several Illustrations, and the book is handsomely printed and bound. An excellent book for the boys.

A Directory of Writers for the Literary Press, particularly in the United States. Compiled by W. M. Griswold, A. B. Third edition. Bangor, Me. 1890. 4to., pp. 59. $1.00.

The fruit of much patient labor and pains-taking care, this Directory will be found of great convenience to all who are interested in journalistic literature. Accurate so far as it goes, it is of necessity incomplete, and, so rapid are changes and so constant the influx of new authors, it can never be made to contain a full list of literary writers; but it seems to be thoroughly reliable in the information given. We doubt not that the compiler will gladly welcome additions and corrections, and we trust that his work will be appreciated and rewarded by adequate patronage.

The Nature and Method of Revelation. By George Park Fisher, D.D., LL. D. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890. 16mo., pp. xii., 291. $1.25.

There are indications that this is emphatically a book for the times. Several of its chapters were prepared for the *Century Magazine*, at the request of its editor, whose choice of the theme is an assurance that in his desire and effort to meet the needs and demands of the reading public, he recognizes the fact that the Bible and questions in regard to its worth and authority have a large place in public

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thought. Prof. Fisher's response to this request was given in essays on: Revelation and the Bible; The Gradualness of Revelation; The Differentiation of Christianity from Judaism; Revelation and Faith. In preparing them for the volume before us they have been revised and somewhat enlarged, and to them have been added the following: Remarks on the Authorship and Date of the Gospels; Illustrations of the Character of the Gospel Histories; The New Testament Writings on the Time of the Second Advent; The Theological Ideas of Matthew Arnold; Professor Huxley's Comments on the Gospel Narratives.

Prof. Fisher's method of dealing with the subject is chiefly that of exhibiting the internal value of the Bible, by showing the purpose and scope of Revelation. "The fundamental reality," he says, "is not the Bible, it is the kingdom of God. This is not a notion. Rather it is a historical fact, and the grandest of all facts." The peculiar characteristic of the Bible, taken as a whole, is holiness. To secure and promote holiness Jesus founded a spiritual society, and it is to this that we owe the existence of the Gospels and the Apostolic Epistles. The facts on which the spiritual kingdom is founded, God and his truth as set before the sons of men, give the special value and significance to the Scriptures. As Prof. Fisher says: "They are the documents that make us acquainted with the kingdom in its consecutive stages up to its completed form. In the Scriptures we are made acquainted with the facts and the meaning of the facts. And as, in the case of all documentary materials viewed in contrast with literary products of later elaboration, we are brought face to face with the historic transactions and with the persons who took part in them. This is the peculiar character of the Scriptures, and is at once the secret of their transcendent value and the occasion of countless obscurities and difficulties." The supernatural is necessarily involved in the idea of revelation, and so the slurs against miracles have no weight with Prof. Fisher, nor does the hostile criticism on the date and authorship of the Gospel narratives, which distinguished a German rationalism now repudiated by the pupils of those who advocated it, give him the least concern, or shake his faith in the historic genuineness and veracity of the record. The chapter on the Johannine Authorship of the Fourth Gospel is a fine specimen of brief but convincing historic criticism. Prof. Fisher is familiar with all that has been written on this subject, and his conclusions are the same as those advocated by the late Prof. Ezra Abbott, who came to the examination of the question with strong bias against the traditional theory, but was compelled by the facts to concede that the Apostle John was the author. Certainly the claim of the rationalists that the Fourth Gospel was not written earlier than A. D. 160, is, in view of the now well established fact that it was referred to very early in the Second Century, wholly unwarranted. All in all, the volume before us is, in compact form, the most valuable statement of the worth and authority of the Bible as against modern assertions of unbelief, that has been presented to the public.

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Great Captains. Alexander. A History of the Origin and Growth of the Art of War, from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus, B. C. 301, with a Detailed Account of the Campaigns of the Great Macedonian. With 237 Charts, Maps, Plans of Battle and Tactical Manœuvers, Cuts of Armor, Uniforms. Siege Devices and Portraits. By Theodore Ayrault Dodge. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. 8vo., pp. xxv., 692. $5.00.

This is not a military text-book in any technical sense, but a history of the greatest tactician and fighter written for the general reader, who "has a right to demand that his way should be made plain. The author has tried to do just this, while not neglecting the requirements of those who wish to dwell upon the military aspect of Alexander's campaigns." The basis of Col. Dodge's history is the Anabasis of Alexander by Arrian of Nicomedia, with such help as could be derived from all the ancient and modern published aids to an understanding of Alexander's personality and his military campaigns. After an Introduction in which Early Wars in general are described, and illustrations of offensive and defensive weapons are given, brief sketches are made of the careers and military prowess of Darius, Miltiades, Brasidas, Xenophon, Cyrus, Agesilaus, Epaminondas, and Philip the father of Alexander. In these much information is given concerning the relation of the General or Commander to his troops growing out of the manner in which the ancients were armed and the great dependence necessarily placed on personal prowess and bravery. It was the great Captain who led in the fight, striking quick and heavy blows with his sword or dextrously throwing his lance. The example of his bravery was not less necessary than was the skill of his plan. Today the mental quality of the General in Chief is everything, and the sword has no place save as an insignia of his rank.

Between what Alexander inherited from his father, and what he added from the lessons of his experience Col. Dodge wisely discriminates. Philip was the greatest soldier of antiquity in giving shape, consistency and confidence to an army. Alexander not only inherited his father's bravery, but also used his skill, improving upon it as his conquests extended and the necessity for making those whom he conquered most available compelled him to allow them the use of their former weapons, and so far as was expedient, their mode of formation, attack and defence. Philip had made the Macedonian a better man of arms than any other Greek, and Alexander's appreciation of this fact kept him close to his father's tactics. His favorite arm of the service was the cavalry, and he was a perfect cavalry officer. This arm formed at times more than one quarter of his force. Its unit was the ile, a company of sixty-four made up of sixteen files of four men deep. Archers and slingers were in about the same proportion as in Philip's time. Going into action the troops were silent, marching in cadenced step, alert to hear the final order, and then rushing into the charge with cheers and shouts often so terrific as to disconcert their enemies. Pity for the wounded was forbidden, and they were mercilessly put to death. Prisoners were all accounted for, being either given away or sold into slavery.

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By the aid of copious illustrations, Col. Dodge places before us the whole ancient art of fortifications and sieges. Scaling ladders, mounds sloping up to the walls of the enemy's cities, towers to hold battering rams or to drop a draw-bridge, mural hooks with which to tear away the tops of walls and skilful engineering for the purpose of mining walls and citadels, were the chief devices; while catapults for the swift and far-reaching discharge of spears, and the balista, the mortar of the ancients, which threw stones of over fifty pounds weight a distance of about half a mile, mark the beginnings of the long range weapons of the present.

Alexander's success is to be accounted for by these factors which in a most uucommon degree were such sources of his strength: a good body, an active mind, most quick and accurate in the time of danger, and a hopefulness of success which nothing daunted. Col. Dodge says of him: "He could generalize from specific facts with astonishing accuracy; he could gauge the exact value in a problem of one or two isolated facts." "As a captain, Alexander accomplished more than any [other] man ever did. He had no equal predecessor who left him a model for action. He showed the world first of all men and best how to make war. He formulated the first principles of the art, to be elaborated by Hannibal, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Prince Eugene, Marlborough, Frederick, and Napoleon." The story of his campaigns reads like a marvel, his wonderful marches, covering in his Persian expedition, but a little short of twenty-two thousand miles, seem incredible, but the fact is well proven.

The volume before us is a beautiful specimen of book-making.

Studies in Hegel's Philosophy of Religion. With a Chapter on Christian Unity in America. By J. Macbride Sterrett, D. D. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1890. Crown 8vo., pp. xiii., 348. $2.00.

By common consent Hegel is a misty writer, hard to understand, and confusing the thought of his readers. What wonder then, that Dr. Sterrett says: "Interpreters of his system have differed more than those of the Bible. From it, each — the *right* wing, the *center*, the *left*, and the *extreme left* wings — his dogma sought and each his dogma found. The comprehensive system offered various aspects, which seemed to various types of mind to be the whole system. The *right wing*, Goeschel, Gabler, Daub, and Erdman, found him to be the champion of Christianity and of all social institutions, while the *extreme left* divested the whole system of all religious and ethical meaning, degenerating into the boldest materialism and atheism. Of this school Feuerbach is best known to us through the early translation of George Eliot. Theology was merely anthropology. Dr. Strauss is the best-known representative of the *left* wing, through his mythical theory of the Life of Christ. While the right wing could plainly show that Hegel had vindicated God as the subject of all philosophy, and Christianity as the absolute and perfect religion

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whose influence was gradually actualizing moral order in humanity, the left wings claimed that *logically* the method made 'each man his own God' (autolatry), with 'a right to everything' here, as there was no hereafter."

To Dr. Sterrett, Hegelianism is a philosophy drawn from Christianity as the fountain-head of truth, and one that is alone able to furnish a safe and efficient resistance to agnosticism, materialism and pessimism. He represents Hegel as a Christian pantheist, whatever that may mean, "in common," he says, "with the Catholic saints of head and heart of all ages." The purpose of the book is Apologetic throughout. Dr. Sterrett's ground is that "The Bible, Reason, and the Church, one after another, are made the standing ground of Apologetics, and yet not one of them is infallible. Each one needs a larger apologetic to vindicate its authority. They are all relatively sufficient grounds when *themselves* grounded upon the authority of the absolute idea of Religion." There is no attempt at a systematic presentation of all the theories of Hegel, but only a presentation of what he calls "studies" in Hegel's most important production, "The Philosophy of Religion." The first two chapters are a rapid sketch of Hegelianism and of the development of the philosophic treatment of religions. The third, fourth, seventh and eighth chapters follow Hegel in the main, giving expositions of his "Introduction," of his chapters on the "Vital Idea of Religion," the "Classification of the Pre-Christian Religions," and "Christianity as the Absolute Religion." The fifth and sixth chapters do not claim any direct relation to Hegel, but are expositions from an independent standpoint of the matters treated in the other chapters. Whatever the student of Philosophy may say of the correctness of the deductions from Hegel's position, all readers of this thoughtful book will find much to admire and commend. Especially interesting and instructive is the Appendix on "Christian Unity in America and the Historic Episcopate," in which the author's plea for Episcopacy is not based on the absurd pretence of Apostolic succession, but a repetition of the venerable Hooker's claim that it is "an ancient, decent and convenient polity." His plea is for a broad and liberal recognition of Christian truth and Christian discipleship in all the Churches, whatever their sectarian name and badge.

God in His World. An Interpretation. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1890. 12mo., pp. xvi., 270. $1.25.

An important and a wonderfully suggestive book. God has never left man without some evidence of His presence, some intimation, though at times it is very faint, of His attributes and purposes. Every religion, even of the untutored savage, has contained some divine truth. Every lofty philosophy of the wise men has been a more or less successful effort to find out God; but the perfect revelation is through the Lord Jesus Christ. By him we are assured that God is in His world, a world which He has made, in which He is

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imanent, and yet which He transcends. In Nature, in Man, in Christ, yet more than Nature, more than Man, more than Christ. Miracles, in attestation of the authority of Christ were not only possible, they were in harmony with the Divine methods and were an Illustration of the Divine Life which is love. Of prayer, the author says: "God giveth and forgiveth without the asking, but the children ask. They do not make petitions as of one who waiteth therefor, and is moved thereby; their asking is as spontaneous as His giving." "No man inherits sin but only the aptitude which in all other men, save our Lord, has become sin." "There is no need of atonement to reconcile God unto man." "God is not being reconciled unto the world, but is reconciling the world unto Himself, bringing His children into that association with Him which constitutes the kingdom of heaven." The Church has swung away from the true gospel. Passing into the Dark Ages, "She revived the Pagan priesthood, the Pagan idea of propitiatory sacrifice and the Pagan ritual with its splendid ceremonies and processions. She appealed to the fears of men. Her penances took the place of penitence, and casuistry was substituted for the Sermon on the Mount. Salvation itself was bought and sold for so many pieces of silver. The divine jurisprudence was patterned after that of this world, and a soteriological system, fashioned according to the perverse human ideas of divine justice, took the place of the free forgiveness of the Gospel." This earthly life is not, he says, treated by the Gospel, as a probation. "Who shall say that because few are chosen all will not be saved? Is it not rather true that because of the chosen there is the greater hope for all? All souls are living that have ever lived, and the leaven of the kingdom is sufficient for all; through the vital association of all living, it reaches all." "Unto the wisdom and power of God, unto the patience of Him to whom a thousand years are but as a day, there is no difficulty. Not even the perverse human will can finally resist his saving power. Not only man, but every living creature, shall join the procession of his triumph. It is not only our life but all life that is hid with Christ in God. . . . . They who have known the love of God through the new life see no limit to His salvation. Unto them the whole universe is bound together in vital sympathy, so that there is no suffering but of all, no deliverance but of all."

These sentences are specimens of the style and of the spirit of the anonymous author. He gives us a book to be studied, one which well repays the close attention on which an understanding and appreciation of it is conditioned.

The Work of the Ministry: Lectures given to the Meadville Theological School, June, 1889. By Rev. W. P. Tilden. Boston. Geo. H. Ellis. 1890. 16mo., pp. 186. $1.00.

The Students who listened to these lectures requested their publication, and they have been issued in handsome and handy form. The scope of the work is indicated by its table of contents: The

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Ministry; Object of Preaching; Pastoral Work; Sunday-Schools and Guilds; Pulpit Services; Usages and Duties; Personal Influence; Sealed Orders. Mr. Tilden, speaking from fifty years experience in the ministry, has no faith in a somewhat common notion that it has lost its power and no longer has place among the forces of society. On this he says:

"Every now and then we are told that the ministry has lost its power and that Christianity itself is outgrown and must give place to something higher. This is no new cry. Some of us heard it a half-century ago, and learned to respect it as coming from honest minds. The cry has done good in helping us to discriminate between the letter and the spirit. That what passes for Christianity is very defective, very far from the simple teaching of Jesus, that many of its beliefs are unbelievable, an offence to reason, a libel on God and man, and a gross perversion of pure and undefiled religion, is only too painfully apparent. But these beliefs are only the mummy wrappings in which devout but mistaken worshippers have tried to embalm the *body* of Christianity, not perceiving that her soul is ever making new bodies for herself to meet the new exigencies of redeeming love. It is this soul that lives on from age to age, in the face of all the confident assertions that it is dead or dying. Beliefs change, but the spirit lives, — lives to clear its throat, and speak in truer and sweeter tones of God, man, and religion."

He thus states his view of the grand aim and end of the Christian ministry: "In general terms, I suppose, we may say that the grand aim and end of the Christian ministry is to lift mankind to a higher plane of thought and life. The old idea of saving souls from the wrath of God and future burnings by a scheme of salvation which makes it possible for God to forgive and man to accept forgiveness has not only passed out of liberal theology, but is fast passing out of all religious thinking; and the idea of salvation as the deliverance of human souls from whatever enslaves and debases, and lifting them into harmony with the divine will, is taking its place. This radically changes the whole conception of salvation. It no longer means deliverance from future peril merely, but from present evil, wrong and sin. It still means restoration for the fallen. It still means forgiveness to the penitent. It still means new births to higher planes of thought and life. But all this is supernatural, only as life itself is supernatural. It is not in conflict, but in harmony, with human nature, which was plainly constructed on this plan of rising out of lower into higher forms of life."

With such an end in view, the ministry is the highest and noblest work to which a man can give himself. In the chapter on "Pastoral Work," he reminds the minister that he is to be more than a preacher. "A preacher is but a voice. A minister is not only a voice, but a hand, a foot, an eye, a heart." "Do not listen," he says: "Do not listen to that seductive suggestion, born of pride and self-conceit, that *you* were called to *preach*; that, while there are those

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who are fit only for pastors, your mission lies in the pulpit! Perhaps it does, but it is not quite safe to assume it at the beginning. Time and your congregations will decide that. But if you would be something more than a preacher, if you wish to be a minister, a Christian minister, working in the spirit of him who has given his name to the religion we love, do not, I beseech of you, content yourselves with being a voice. Be an eye to see the needs of all classes, especially the poor and lowly. Be a hand, a helping hand extended to all needy ones. Be an ear to listen to the cry of distress or the call for spiritual comfort. Be a foot to find its way to the poorest as well as the richest parishioners. Be a heart touched with the spirit of him who took a sinning and suffering world into his arms, and found his meat and drink in lifting humanity to a higher plane of thought and life."

In the lecture on "Pulpit Services" there are many valuable hints on prayer, reading of Scripture and hymns, and the method of preaching. The value of written and of extempore sermons is debated with caution and candor, and many useful hints suggest the wise course to the young beginner. In short, the book as a whole is most excellent in its wise advice, based on a long and prosperous ministry. The young minister will do well to add to whatever assistance he may have received from other sources, the valuable suggestions contained in this volume.

The True Historical Episcopate, as seen in the Original Constitution of the Church of Alexandria. Episcopal in Government; Succession through Presbyters; A Primitive Eirenicon. By Rev. Mason Gallagher. Introduction by Rev. John McDowell Leavitt, D.D., LL. D., Professor of Church History in the Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Philadelphia. Funk & Wagnalls. New York. 1890. 12mo., pp. xxxvi., 342. $1.00.

The design of this volume is to show, by an appeal to sound historical documents, that the Ancient Church of Alexandria, while Episcopal in Government for two hundred years, had no Episcopal succession in the modern sense. The evidence presented is cumulative. The testimony of Serome is confirmed by Severus, Hilary and another contemporary; also, by Eutychius and Elmacinnas of later date. The same fact is shown to be conceded by Marimus and Amalarius, among Roman Catholic scholars. The most eminent Episcopal divines, Goode, Litton, Riddle, Harrison, Stanley, Jacob, Lightfoot, Mossman and Greenwood, are quoted in support of the Alexandrian arrangements, together with churchmen of an earlier date. The most prominent writers of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Congregational churches are presented in confirmation of the same fact.

The settlement of this question concerning the existence of an unbroken, exclusively valid Episcopal succession in the negative, is shown to remove a formidable obstacle to what is now the desire of so many, Christian Union. The book presents abundant evidence that the view that the laying on of hands of a third order in the min-

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istry is essential to a valid ordination was unknown to the Primitive Church, is repudiated by all Protestant churches, including the Protestant Episcopal Church, whose early and better writings and articles are shown to be opposed to such exclusive claims. The author, formerly a High Church Episcopal clergyman, was constrained by an earnest inquiry to renounce his former opinions, and took part with Bishop Cummins in establishing the Reformed Episcopal Church. As the question of the "Historic Episcopate" is now widely discussed, the book is timely, and sheds important light upon the subject.

Among the Theologies. By Hiram Orcutt, LL. D. Boston. W. B. Clarke & Co. 1888. 16mo., pp. ix., 142.

Dr. Orcutt "claims to be loyal to the Bible and to the Orthodox church, of which he has been a member for more than half a century, though compelled to reject, as many others in her communion have done, some articles of her creed." This rebellion has arisen, he says, because of his struggle to "believe and defend the questionable dogmas which seemed to conflict with the revealed character and will of God; but more and more his reason and moral intuition rebelled." His book is made up of seven chapters, respectively devoted to a consideration of: the Divine Plan and Purpose; The Theologies; Free Agency; Probation; Retribution; Scripture Quotations. His aim is to show, chiefly by quotations from acknowledged authorities, that the Divine Plan and Purpose is good, wise, and worthy of Infinite wisdom and goodness, and then to make manifest that neither Calvinism nor Arminianism are consistent with that plan and purpose; that though differing in statement both agree in fact that God shuts off many of the race from a wise and good end, dooming them, either by arbitrary decree, or by creating them incapable of obedience, to an end which makes their existence a curse. He finds no Scriptural nor reasonable ground for belief in endless punishment, nor for the commonly received dogma of Probation; but ample testimony from both sources for the ultimate redemption of all souls from sin. The book is well written, candid and fair in statement, and reaches the only conclusion which is compatible with the belief that God has wisely and benevolently planned and purposed concerning his human creation.

The Expositors Bible. The Book of Exodus. By the Very Rev. G. A. Chadwick, D.D., Dean of Armagh. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. Crown 8vo., pp. xx., 442. $1.50.

The Gospel of St. Matthew. By John Monro Gibson, M. A., D.D. New York. A. C. Armstrong & Son. Crown 8vo., pp. viii., 450. $1.50.

These latest volumes in the valuable and interesting Expositor Series, are fully up to the excellence of those which preceded them.

Dean Chadwick's work is, both in matter and in arrangement, superior to many more pretentious commentaries on the book of Exodus. The author recognizes the denials and doubts now prevailing concerning the book, and the many speculations in regard to it as suggested by the Higher Criticism. He is of the opinion, however, that the

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book came from the pen of Moses, and that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of assigning it a later date. "It is indeed impossible to reconcile the motives and the date to which this narrative is ascribed by some, with the plain phenomena, with the narrative itself." While the Dean's work is instructive in regard to the particular facts and circumstances, both ordinary and extraordinary, in the record, it is also eminently suggestive concerning the present operation of God's Providence in analogous conditions and under the dominance of similar principles. It is therefore a book for the times as well as a comment on ancient history.

Dr. Gibson's Lectures on Matthew are written from the standpoint of an orthodoxy, which, however prevalent in the Old World, has been in large measure outgrown in the New. His treatment of demoniacy, the second coming of Christ, the resurrection of the body, and particularly his ascribing a double sense to the words of Christ in Matthew XXIV. and XXV., is after a manner quite obsolete and untenable. He has much more wisdom and skill in analyzing character than in interpreting doctrines. In the former work his book is valuable, in the latter it follows in a path now very generally abandoned.

A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Second Series. Translated into English with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes. Under the Editorial Supervision of Philip Schaff, D.D., LL. D., and Henry Wace, D.D., in connection with a number of Patristic Scholars of Europe and America. Volume I. Eusebius: Church History, Life of Constantine the Great, and Oration in Praise of Constantine. New York. The Christian Literature Company. 1890. Royal 8vo., pp. x., 632. $3.00.

This is not, as our readers are aware, the first English version of the writings of Eusebius, but it is by far the best that has been given to the public. The translation has been made from Heinichen's second edition of the Greek text, with such variations as seemed to the translators warranted by critical study. It is in no sense a revision of any previous English rendering, but the History is an entirely new translation by Dr. A. C. McGiffert, of Lane Theological Seminary; and the Writings on Constantine, translated by Dr. E. C. Richardson, of Hartford Theological Seminary. Dr. Schaff says in the Preface: I desired these translators "to make these works a reliable and tolerably complete Church History for the first three centuries for the English reader. I think they have succeeded. Every scholar will at once see the great value and superiority of this over every other previous edition of Eusebius." These are manifest not only in the improved translation, but conspicuously in the voluminous notes, critical, explanatory and historical. Nothing within the range of human learning has been omitted that would tend to make the story complete and most intelligible and interesting. Dr. McGiffert's Prolegomena on the Life and Writings of Eusebius, is a fine specimen of Biography, Analysis and Criticism. He shows Eusebius to have been a man of vast erudition and sterling sense; a warm ad-

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mirer and defender of Origen, and wholly in sympathy with that great teacher in his views of the subordination of the Son to the Father. He was a voluminous writer, his labors covering almost every field of theological learning: "historian, apologist, topographer, exegete, critic, preacher, dogmatic writer, in turn." But his great work was his History, the value of which to us lies not in its literary merit, but "in the wealth of the materials which it furnishes for a knowledge of the early Church. How many prominent figures of the first three centuries are known to us only from the pages of Eusebius; how many fragments, priceless on account of the light which they shed upon movements of momentous and far-reaching consequence, have been preserved by him alone; how often a hint dropped, a casual statement made in passing, or the mention of some apparently trifling event, gives the clue which enables us to unravel some perplexing labyrinth, or to fit into one whole various disconnected and apparently unrelated elements, and thus to trace the steps in the development of some important historical movement whose rise and whose bearing must otherwise remain an unsolved riddle." There are some glaring faults in the History, it is true, but the excellent merits far out-weigh them. The minister who does not enrich his library with this edition of the Fathers is missing a valuable aid in the knowledge of the development of Christian History and Doctrines.

Northern Studies, By Edmund Gosse. New York. A. Lovell & Co. 16mo., pp. xi., 268. 40 cents.

The latest volume of the "Camelot Series," contains a number of pleasantly written papers, treating for the most part the literary work of recent writers in Northern Europe. The papers on Norway are: Norwegian Poetry since 1814; Henrik Ibsen; and the Lofoden Islands. Runeberg, of Sweden; The Danish National Theatre, and Four Danish Poets. One of the two papers on Ibsen may be said to have first attracted the attention of English readers to this forcible and unique dramatist; a fact which gives peculiar interest to the volume aside from the general fact that it has been prepared to answer the growing demand for a knowledge of the North and its literature. The many recent readers of translations of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian poetry and fiction, will find in Mr. Gosse's book valuable help in understanding these writers and their work.

Decisive Events in American History. The Taking of Louisburg, 1745. By Samuel Adams Drake. Boston. 1891. Lee & Shepard. 16mo., pp. 136. 50 cts.

In this compact narrative Mr. Drake, who is at home in all matters of Colonial history, gives an admirable description of the capture of this strongly fortified French-Canadian city by the New England militia under Pepperell, and the skilfull and daring engineering of Richard Gridley, who afterwards greatly distinguished himself by laying out the defences of Bunker Hill. The fall of Louisburg was one of the greatest military successes on record, the fortress having

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Stories of the Civil War. By Albert F. Blaisdell. Boston. 1890. Lee & Shepard. 16mo., pp. 244. $1.00

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The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D. D. Vol. xii. The Psalter. New York. Funk & Wagnalls. 1890. 8vo., pp. iv., 464. $1.50.

Dr. Parker has now completed eighteen of his contemplated twenty-five volumes in exposition of the Bible; and this, the twelfth volume in the Old Testament series, is second in importance to none of its predecessors. It is not a formal commentary, although it is critical and covers in general the field of exegesis and interpretation. But it is more. It adapts the lessons of truth which were so effective in David's day, to the circumstances, dangers and needs of the present. Sometimes a whole Psalm is taken up, verse by verse; sometimes a single sentence is selected; and sometimes significant topics, as the "I will," and the "I know," of the inspired writer form the theme of the chapter or section. Of these sections there are fifty-four, and they are admirably adapted as aids to devotion, homiletical helps and suggestions of the vast wealth and influence of this portion of Holy Writ. The exposition of the Nineteenth Psalm, which Dr. Parker calls: "A Grand Picture of Nature," is one of the best and most helpful interpretations of this wondrous Psalm which has fallen under our notice. It informs the mind, refines the heart and lifts the soul to adoration and praise. It is a volume of great value to all students of the Bible, and we wonder how the publishers can afford to put it on the market at such a low price.

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